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The
Monthly Interpreter.

"Then said the Interpreter, Come in; I will show thee that which will be profitable to thee."

—JOHN BUNYAN.

EDITED BY THE

REV. JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A.

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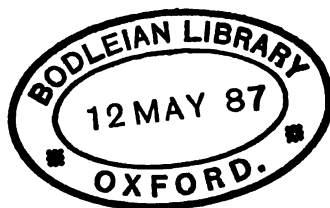
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THE GROUNDWORK OF THE APOCALYPSE.—III.

CONTINUING the subject of the "Seven Seals," we come to the fifth, which is related in Revelation vi. 9-11 :—

"And when he opened the fifth seal, I saw underneath the altar the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held: and they cried with a great voice, saying, How long, O Master, the holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And there was given them to each one a white robe; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little time, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, which should be killed even as they were, should be fulfilled."¹

Very little in this passage is definitely drawn from the Old Testament, but a comparison of Zechariah i. 12 ("O Lord of hosts, how long wilt Thou not have mercy," etc.) and Deuteronomy xxxii. 43 ("He will avenge the blood of His servants") is instructive, as it illustrates the manner in which the words of the Old Testament float before the mind of the writer, even when there is no direct reference to them. But remembering the position which this vision occupies, standing immediately after the judgments of war, famine, and pestilence, and bearing in mind the correspondence which we have already traced between those earlier visions and our Lord's discourse in

¹ Reference should also be made to 2 Kings ix. 7, and Hosea iv. 1.

Matthew xxiv., we can scarcely fail to be struck with the remarkable parallel which the vision before us offers to the ninth verse of that chapter. Our Lord in the discourse on the Mount of Olives first announced the judgments on the world, "the beginning of sorrows," wars, famines, pestilences, etc., and then turned to His *disciples* and spoke of what should happen to them: "Then shall they deliver you up unto tribulation, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated of all the nations for my name's sake." Precisely so in St. John's visions there is first a representation of the very same judgments, and then a like transition to the fate of the disciples; and a glimpse is granted to the seer of "the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held." The coincidence is too exact to be accidental, and I cannot help feeling that this fifth seal is but a symbolical representation of the fact to which our Lord was alluding, and that therefore its primary and direct reference is to those who suffered in the Apostolic age. With regard to the details of interpretation it is difficult to speak with confidence. The "white robes" (*στολαὶ λευκαί*) appear here for the first time, and in this book are only mentioned again in vii. 9-14. "White garments" (*ἱμάτια λευκά*), however, are mentioned in iii. 4, 5, 18, iv. 4; and "fine linen white and pure" (*βύσσινον λευκὸν καὶ καθαρὸν*) in xix. 4; the "fine linen" being explained in verse 8 as "the righteous acts of the saints." It may be a question whether there is any difference of meaning intended by the use of these distinct terms in different parts of the book, but I am not called upon to discuss this here, since I am not venturing to write a Commentary on the Revelation, but am only endeavouring to point out and illustrate its groundwork in the Old Testament and our Lord's utterances. I pass on, therefore, to the sixth seal, verses 12-17. The extent to which the imagery which is presented in this vision is borrowed from the prophets, and had been also appropriated by our Lord in His discourse, will

be best shown by placing in parallel columns this vision of St. John and the corresponding section in Matthew xxiv., and by italicizing all the direct quotations from the Old Testament with marginal references to them :—

REVELATION VI. 12-17.

MATTHEW XXIV. 29, 30.

	And I saw when he opened the sixth seal, and there was a great earthquake; and <i>the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the whole moon became as blood; and the stars of the heaven fell</i> unto the earth, as a fig-tree casteth her unripe figs when she is shaken of a great wind. And <i>the heaven was removed as a scroll when it is rolled up</i> ; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places. And the kings of the earth, and the princes, and the chief captains, and the rich, and the strong, and every bondman and freeman, <i>hid themselves in the caves and in the rocks of the mountains; and they say to the mountains and to the rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne and from the wrath of the Lamb: for the great day of their wrath is come; and who is able to stand?</i>	Immediately, after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken: and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.
Joel ii. 31.		
Isaiah xxxiv. 4.		
Jeremiah iv. 29.		(Luke xxiii. 28, 29. Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but for yourselves, and for your children. . . . Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.)
Hosea x. 8.		
Joel ii. 11.		
Malachi iii. 2.		

I suppose that most readers of the Apocalypse take for granted, without much consideration, that St. John's language refers to the last judgment. We naturally associate the strong and startling terms employed with the end of all things. And yet when we come to weigh carefully the expressions used, and to examine their source, I think that it becomes extremely doubtful whether this interpretation is the true one. The imagery, it will be seen, is not uncommon in the Old Testament, and the marginal references might have been multiplied, as there are several other passages in which we meet with identical or similar symbolism. It was apparently suggested in the first instance by the terrible earthquake which made so deep an impression on the Jews that years

were numbered from it (Amos i. 1 ; cf. Zech. xiv. 5). Thus it was to the prophets a symbol of God's judgments, and we find that when they would describe the fall of cities and nations they frequently recur to the figure and represent the catastrophe under the image of some great convulsion of nature. Passages such as those marked in the margin from Isaiah, Joel, and others are confessedly allowed to refer not to the final coming of our Lord, but rather to the destruction of Jerusalem—whether by the Chaldees or by the Romans matters not. In Malachi, for instance, there can be little doubt that the "great and terrible day of the Lord" refers to what we call the first coming of Christ, *i.e.* not to the end of all things, but to that twofold advent in mercy and judgment which began with the Incarnation, and must be regarded as a continuous "coming" (*παρουσία*), until the Church was founded and Jerusalem destroyed. This interpretation of the Old Testament is strongly confirmed by the use which our Lord makes of Hosea x. 8 in Luke xxiii. 29. And the Apostles certainly took the prophecy of Joel as referring to that first coming, for St. Peter on the day of Pentecost says expressly: "This is that which hath been spoken by the prophet Joel ; And it shall be in the last days, saith God, I will pour forth of my Spirit upon all flesh : and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams : yea, and on my servants and on my handmaidens in those days will I pour forth of my Spirit ; and they shall prophesy : and I will show wonders in the heaven above, and signs on the earth beneath ; blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke : the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the day of the Lord come, that great and notable day : and it shall be that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Acts ii. 16–21).

Again, the oftener I read our Lord's discourse on the Mount of Olives, the more I am convinced that the only satisfactory

interpretation of it is that which takes the whole of it down to verse 34, as descriptive of all that was to precede and accompany the destruction of Jerusalem. Up to verse 28 it *must* refer to this; and thus far nearly all commentators are agreed. From this point the difference of interpretation begins. But what violence has to be done to the "*immediately*" (εὐθέως) of verse 29, if there is a sudden transition from the fall of Jerusalem to the end of the world! and what possible meaning is there in verse 34, "This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled," if "these things" are the signs accompanying the second advent? Take the whole discourse down to this verse as referring solely to the destruction of Jerusalem, and all is plain and comparatively easy. The language is of course symbolical, but it is almost entirely founded on the language in which the prophets of the Old Covenant had announced the destruction of cities and empires, and does not go beyond them in any point of strength. On this view, verses 34 and 36 become at once intelligible, and contain a marked and pointed contrast. "All *these* things," of which our Lord has been speaking, are to happen within the lifetime of the then existing generation: "but of *that* day and hour knoweth no one," etc. "That day," as elsewhere in the New Testament where it stands absolutely, signifies the day of final judgment (see Matt. vii. 22; Luke x. 12; 2 Thess. i. 10; 2 Tim. i. 12, 18, iv. 8); and thus "according to the view here advocated our Lord plainly distinguished between the two comings, gave full details in prophetic language and imagery drawn from the Old Testament concerning the *first*, and marked out its date as taking place during the lifetime of His hearers; while of His *final* coming (παρουσία) He distinctly refused to tell them, and grounded His refusal upon the fact that 'of *that* day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels of heaven, *neither the Son*, but the Father only.'" ¹

And now to return to the vision of the sixth seal. If I

¹ See the *Expositor* for April 1881, p. 304.

am right in thinking that the passages which form its groundwork both in the Old Testament and in our Lord's discourse do not look beyond the destruction of Jerusalem, surely we get a weighty argument for referring St. John's language to the same event. It is difficult for us, as we look back, to realize that the first advent and the foundation of the Christian Church was anything but the glad festival season which it is to us. But for those then living, the throes and birth-pangs which ushered in the new era, and the awful catastrophe which fell on those who "knew not the time of their visitation," were such present realities as to appear like the shaking of the heavens and the earth, and the darkening of the light of the sun. The convulsions of nature were after all but feeble images of the moral and spiritual confusion which accompanied the change from one age to another. The "coming" of Christ was such that to many it was the coming of the "great and terrible day of the Lord." There was in very deed a shaking of all things and a sifting of all men. The foundations were cast down, and the whole world must have seemed to totter and reel beneath men's feet. What wonder then if the words of the prophet rose involuntarily to the lips of the men of that generation: "Who may abide the day of His coming? and who shall stand when He appeareth? for He is like a refiner's fire, and like fullers' sope: and He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver: and He shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness."

Between the sixth and seventh seals a twofold episode is presented to the gaze of the seer—(1) the sealing of the elect, and (2) the vision of the "great multitude." The idea of the "sealing" is undoubtedly borrowed from Ezek. ix. 4: "Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark (or *cross*) upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof. And to the others He said in mine hearing,

Go ye after him through the city, and smite : let not your eye spare, neither have ye pity : slay utterly old and young, both maids, and little children, and women : but come not near any man upon whom is the mark : and begin at my sanctuary." The *idea* of this passage and of the "sealing" in Rev. vii. 1-8 is identical, and it is impossible to doubt that there is a connection between the two ; but beyond this there is not much which verbally reminds us of the Old Testament in this seventh chapter till we come to the closing verses (16 and 17); in which we find that the language of the elder is quoted almost word for word from Isaiah xlix. 10.

I cannot, however, pass over this whole section without venturing on a few remarks upon its interpretation, even though in so doing I may seem to be travelling beyond my proper province. It is sometimes contended that the two episodes really refer to the same event, and that the "great multitude" of the second is identical with the "sealed" of the first. But a careful reading of the whole passage is surely sufficient to dispel this idea altogether. In verse 4, St. John writes expressly : "*I heard the number of them which were sealed, a hundred and forty and four thousand, sealed out of every tribe of the children of Israel.*" Then follows the list of the tribes and the number of the sealed out of each, and in verse 9 he proceeds as follows : "After these things I saw, and behold, a great multitude, *which no man could number*, out of *every nation*, and of all tribes and peoples and tongues," etc. Thus a comparison of verses 4 and 9 makes it clear (1) that the second episode was *subsequent* to the first ; (2) that whereas in the first the number was known and assured, in the second it was a great multitude which no man could number ; and (3) that the "sealed" were all "of the children of Israel," whereas the great multitude was "out of every nation." It is difficult to imagine how St. John could have used such language if he had meant us to identify the two companies ; and in confirmation of the view which takes them as distinct, it should be

noticed that in chapter xiv., where the Lamb is seen standing on Mount Zion, He has with Him "a hundred and forty and four thousand, having His name and the name of His Father written on their foreheads," etc. (xiv. 1). These are spoken of in verse 4 as "purchased from among men to be the *first-fruits* unto God and unto the Lamb," and then immediately afterwards is seen "another angel flying in mid-heaven, having an eternal gospel to proclaim unto them that dwell on the earth, and unto every nation and tribe and tongue and people" (ver. 6). Hence, taking all things into consideration, the true interpretation would seem to be that which takes the "sealed" as the Jewish (or possibly Judæo-Christian) Church, and the "great multitude" as those of the Christian dispensation, who make up the Church that is gathered out of all nations, and who are seen "coming out of the *great tribulation*" (ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης), an expression which at once throws us back on St. Matthew xxiv. 21, "there shall be *great tribulation*" (ἔσται γὰρ τότε θλίψις μεγάλη): so that, upon the whole, I am inclined to take the "sealed" of the first episode as identical with the "elect," for whose sake the days are shortened, and the vision of the "great multitude" as parallel with verse 31 of our Lord's discourse: "He shall send forth His angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other"—a verse which, as I take it, is descriptive of the gathering together of God's elect into a visible Church on earth.¹

Although, as has already been said, there is not much in the section now before us, except in the closing verses, which *verbally* recalls the Old Testament, yet the *idea* of the second as of the first episode is one of which traces may be found in the prophets. Those who compose the great multitude are

¹ May I be permitted to refer to an article in the *Expositor* for April 1881, where I have worked out in the light of the Old Testament what seems to me the true interpretation of this discourse of our Lord?

seen "arrayed in white robes, and palms in their hands;" and it is said in verse 15 that "He that sitteth on the throne shall spread His tabernacle over them" (σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτούς). These two expressions taken together give a clue to the meaning of the whole passage; and it has been noticed by many commentators that the redeemed are here represented as keeping the feast of Tabernacles,¹ an image which is not unknown to the prophets of the Old Covenant when speaking of the future of the Church of God, *e.g.* Zech. xiv. 16: "And it shall come to pass, that every one that is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem shall even go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the feast of Tabernacles." There is, however, a further question: even if the reference to the feast of Tabernacles be granted, are we to think that the scene at which the seer is gazing is a representation of what *is* going on now or *will* go on hereafter "behind the veil"? or is it an ideal picture of the Church of God on earth? The former view is that which is usually adopted, and it is not without some hesitation that I am led to advocate the second alternative. But the more I consider it, the more probable does it appear to me; and for these reasons: (1) The comparison with St. Matthew xxiv. 13, which has already been given. (2) Isa. xlix. 10: "They shall not hunger nor thirst, neither shall the heat or sun smite them: for He that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall He guide them;" and xxv. 8: "The Lord God will wipe away tears from off their faces," refer to the glories of the Messianic age and kingdom in this world rather than in the next, as does Zech. xiv. 16, the passage which suggests the idea of the feast of Tabernacles. (3) The promises of our Lord concerning fountains of living water in John iv. 14 and vii. 38, which are evidently in St. John's mind (see verse 17) in regard to this life. (4) St.

¹ Compare a most instructive chapter on the feast of Tabernacles in Dr. Edersheim's *The Temple, its Ministry and Services*, chap. xiv.

John himself teaches us to look for a Tabernacle feast on earth in his Gospel, chap. i. 14, *ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν*; and (5) in all St. John's writings "eternal life" is a *present* possession rather than something future. These considerations, when carefully weighed, are, it is believed, sufficient to render probable the view that the whole description of the redeemed is intended to apply to their condition even in this world under the gospel dispensation. It has been said that "to the Jewish prophets earth was heaven: they mixed together in one landscape; but the worlds under the gospel light divided, and the visible was exchanged for the invisible, as the *place* of the prophetic realm of peace. With respect to this world, later or gospel prophecy is, if one may so say, singularly unenthusiastic; it draws no sanguine picture, is in no ecstasy about humanity, speaks of no regeneration of society here; it uses the language of melancholy fact."¹ I venture to question whether this description is quite exact. We lose far more than we generally realize by relegating to a far distant future the glowing promises of the New Testament. "Ye *are*" (not *shall*) "come"—says the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews—"unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of a New Covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better than that of Abel" (Heb. xii. 22-24). The whole passage is extremely suggestive, and is worthy of profound consideration. His view of the gospel dispensation is identical with the one which is here advocated as that of the Apocalypse. The blessings and privileges of which it speaks are not only for another life. They belong to the Church already. Eternal life is the believers' *now*, and even in this world "the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall be their shepherd,

¹ Mozley's *University Sermons*, p. 118.

and shall guide them unto fountains of waters of life: and God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes."

The seventh seal need not detain us long. Rev. viii. 1: "And when he had opened the seventh seal there followed a silence in heaven about half an hour." This symbolical "silence" is most significant. It is the exact counterpart of the actual silence of our Saviour with regard to the judgment day, in the discourse which so largely forms the groundwork of St. John's vision. Matt. xxiv. 36: "Of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only." Of His "coming" in the foundation of the Christian, and overthrow of the Jewish Church, our Lord gave full details in the symbolic language of prophecy. Of His "coming" in the final judgment He said nothing, and for the reason which He Himself gives in the verse just quoted. Exactly so, in St. John's visions of the seven seals, an outline is given in apocalyptic imagery of all that should accompany the bringing in of the new "age" (*αἰών*), and a glimpse is granted of the privileges and blessings of those who belong to it; but when the seventh seal is opened, which should usher in the final judgment, there is silence. The coincidence is too close to be set down to fancy, and comes in as confirmatory of the whole line of interpretation here adopted. We have now examined one complete section of the Apocalypse; and I trust that, whether or no the details of interpretation carry conviction to the minds of my readers, they will at least make it evident that no small light may be thrown upon its meaning by a careful examination of its "groundwork."

EDGAR C. S. GIBSON.

THE INITIATION OF PAUL.

Phil. iv. 12 ; cf. 2 Cor. xii. 1-10.

As a single patch of colour sometimes imparts life and character to a whole picture, so may a single word of strong imaginative association light up a passage in literature with a peculiar and suggestive charm. Such is the word *μεμύημαι* in this noble confession of the Apostle. The difficulty is, to find an adequate rendering of the word. For although "I have been instructed" may clearly enough convey to the English reader what is *denoted*, the large and rich *connotation* of the word in this way escapes him. Conybeare and Howson,¹ also the Revisers, have, however, kept more closely to the literal meaning of the word. With the former we may read the passage: "Not that I speak as if I were in want; for *I* (emphatic, *ἐγώ*) have learnt, in whatsoever state I am, to be content. I can bear either abasement or abundance. In all things, and amongst all men, *I have been taught the secret*,² to be full or to be hungry, to want or to abound; I can do all things in Him who strengthens me." Still more literally, *μεμύημαι* is *initiatum sum*, "I have been initiated."³ It is the only place where the word occurs in the New Testament. What associations did it call up to the ear of a Greek? The most profound, the most pathetic of the old religion. He could not but think of the Mysteries⁴ when he heard the word

¹ *Life of St. Paul*, ii. p. 530. 1862.

² "Have I learned the secret."—Revised Version.

³ "I have been initiated, I possess the secret."—Lightfoot.

⁴ The article in the recent volume of the *Encycl. Britannica* is slight. Fuller accounts of the evidence are in Doellinger, *The First Age of Christianity*, vol. i.; Maury, *Les Religions*, etc., vol. ii.; Hartung, *Die Religion der Griech.* vol. iv.; Preller in Pauly, s.vv. "Mysterien" and "Eleusia."

pronounced; and initiation into the Mysteries had meant all that was solemn, sacramental, as well as secret, for his fathers during the ages of the past, and still meant this for the mass of the people around him. Several generations after Paul, Pausanias was making his learned tour of Greece; and that zealous religionist and archæologist tells us more than once that he knew religious secrets that it was not lawful for a man to utter. In one sense, it must always be in vain to inquire what those secrets were; because we have clear evidence from reputed ancient writers, to the effect that no express and coherent *teaching* was ever given in connection with the Mysteries.¹ The appeal was to the imagination in the first instance by means of symbols and dramatic scenes presented to the eye; and through the imagination to the conscience. This may be difficult for many, trained in the traditions of pure Protestantism, with its habitual appeal to the logical understanding, to realize to themselves, but not more difficult than to understand how the peasantry of Greece or of Russia derive edification from witnessing the dumb-show of the ceremonies of the Church.² The spiritual fact can in neither case be disputed, whether its psychological root can be laid bare or no.

There may be gleaned, however, from the various testimonies, sufficiently clear hints of the solemnly sacramental character of these services, and—which is more to our present purpose—their edifying moral effect³ upon the consciences of the worshippers. Purification from blood-guilt, and the assurance of a happy lot in the future life, were leading ideas in connection with the Mysteries. They began with solemn

¹ Aristotle in *Synesius*, 48A; Plutarch, *Is. et Osir.* c. 68. The *legomena* as distinguished from the *drômena* were songs and liturgies, not abstract teaching. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 48 ff., 62 ff.

² See some remarks in Mr. W. G. Clark's *Peloponnesus*; also Mr. W. M. Ramsay in *Encycl. Britan.*, art. "Mysteries."

³ There were three notes of the Mysteries: secrecy, excitement of mind, peculiar edification, Preller, s.v. "Mysterien," Pauly's *Encyclop.*

washings; a *πρόρρησις*, or proclamation warning all the impure, and all murderers, also barbarians and strangers, to retire, was uttered.¹ The initiate passed through a species of spiritual graduation, by means of a series of rites, and brief instructions, by which he was led towards that *τελετή*, or "perfection," which was the object and end of the initiation. This word is often interchangeable with *μύσις*, while the crowning experience of the myst, the *ἐποπτεία*, or "beholding,"² reminds again of the method of the Mysteries; the appeal to emotion and to belief by means of visible mementoes of past divine events, or signs of present divine operation. The metamorphosis of the grain of corn seems to have been set before the initiates at Eleusis as a pregnant type of immortality,³ in a manner similar to that in which St. Paul uses the same natural fact in 1 Cor. xv. 36.

But what above all left astonishment and awe as an abiding memory upon the spectators' minds, was the sight of the *δρώμενα*, or dramatic actions of the Mysteries. There were weary wanderings in the darkness; there were sights which awoke extreme horror and trembling, immediately before the principal act. Then suddenly a splendid light appeared: there were beautiful pastures disclosed; there was music and dancing; and a variety of sacred sights and sounds greeted the senses of the initiate, who, clothed in festive attire, held intercourse with pious and good men, while he looked down upon the uninitiate wallowing in deep filth and evil.⁴ Apuleius, who had spent a good part of his fortune in gaining initiation to various mysteries, carried away from them certain signs and memorials (*signa et monumenta*). He speaks in the like impressive tone of his experiences—so far as it was

¹ Isocr. *Panegr.* sec. 42.

² See the striking passage in Plato's *Phædrus*, 250n. with Dr. W. H. Thompson's note in *Bibliotheca Classica* ed. He points out the analogy of the "beatific vision" of Christian theology.

³ Origen, *Philos.* p. 115, ed. Müller; Doellinger, i. 188.

⁴ See the numerous references in Maury, *Religions de la Grèce antique*, ii. 333 ff.; and Hartung, *Die Relig. u. Mythol. d. Griechen*, iv. 140 ff.

lawful for him to divulge them to the reader. In short, all that is extant in the way of description by eye-witnesses of what was seen, heard, and felt by them, on these occasions, corresponds to the allusions of some of the purest spirits of antiquity to this subject—of Pindar,¹ of Plato,² of Sophocles,³ of Isocrates.⁴

The moral gain derived from participation in the Mysteries was no hidden doctrine, and no peculiar wisdom, as Lobeck has convincingly shown, but “a certain confidence and firm hope in that which for other men was merely the object of vague wishes and anticipations.” With a certain class of men, this of course could have been nothing better than a superstitious confidence. They were doubtless morally no better for initiation than is a Neapolitan bandit who goes straight from absolution to a fresh deed of violence and blood. Many of the Greeks probably saw little more in initiation than an insurance against the perils of land or sea. Of such an one Theophrastus gives a lively sketch in his characteristic of the timid man. If the weather be rough at sea, one of the first questions he asks is whether there is any uninitiated man on board?⁵ Yet even here the moral value is not wholly excluded. For murderers were pointedly warned away at the beginning of the rites; and therefore an uninitiate might practically mean all but the same as one stained with the guilt of blood. We can understand, under such conditions, how dying persons should have craved initiation, and how the garments in which the rite had been received, should have been used as burial garments,⁶ much as the garments of a monk may be used by Roman Catholics now.

On the other hand, the moral benefit flowing from these services for the rightly-disposed was emphatic in the thought of antiquity. For example, Pausanias defines this threefold

¹ *Fragg.* 106, 108, 109, 110.

² *Frag.* 719.

³ *Char.* xxix. (xxv.).

⁴ *Phædr.* p. 244E.; *Rep.* 385A.

⁵ *Panegyrr.* c. 6, sec. 28.

⁶ *Aristoph. Peace*, 374; *Schol.* 845.

object of those of Orpheus,—“purifications from unholy deeds, cures of diseases, turning away of divine wrath.”¹ And those of Eleusis “conduce to piety.”² And the requisition of fasting and of continence³ in the celebrants could not have been enforced without producing a powerful effect upon the conscience.

But to return to Paul. We may regard his use of the word *μεμυήμεναι* as one of the examples of a word of powerful pagan associations transferred to a lofty Christian use. “I have been initiated, I have learned the secret,” the communicant fresh from Eleusis might say. “I have listened to words in part not lawful to be repeated, and have gained an insight into the truths of the soul, of life and death and eternity, which cannot be imparted to the profane. I shall henceforth be a sadder and a wiser, and, let me trust, a better man.” So much he did in effect say, if he was a serious man; unless we suppose the great writers of antiquity to have been in a conspiracy to deceive posterity on this solemn subject.

But with St. Paul the sacramentarian allusion has vanished; and we have the force of the thought brought out by a broad ethical and spiritual application of the word. He has been initiated into the secret of *αὐτάρκεια*, of that strong “self-sufficingness,” or rather, “sufficiency within one’s self,” or “independence of external circumstances” (Lightfoot), which is but another name for “God-sufficingness.” This in fact was a leading thought with him, or rather a leading divine revelation to his soul. He recalls in another place a season of ecstasy, of transport to the seventh heaven, of the hearing of words not lawful to be uttered. He gloried in the memory of the experience. And when he prayed that the humiliating thorn in the flesh might be taken away, the answer came: *Ἀρκεῖ σοι ἡ χάρις μου ἡ γὰρ δύναμις ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελεῖται.*⁴

¹ 9. 30, 3.

² 10. 31, 2.

³ Porphyry, *de abst.* iv. 15. Cf. Doellinger, i. 192; Maury, ii. 358.

⁴ 2 Cor. xiii. 9.

The last word here also bears a strong mystical connotation. For what was arrived at in the pagan *τελευτή* was the *τελειότης*, or "perfection" of the myst, but in a ritual sense.¹ And when we compare the two passages, that in 2 Corinthians and that in Philippians, with their close resemblance of phraseology, they serve mutually to illustrate the great truth which had been borne home to him as a revelation in an hour of extreme need. He had struggled not only with the general sense of weakness, but with some special weakness the nature of which cannot be known. He had prayed, and the prayer had not been directly answered. But he had been "taught the secret" instead. How mighty a secret! That weakness itself is but the occasion and opportunity of Him who alone has power and alone is strong; that human weakness is the background, so to say, against which that divine strength can alone be truly exhibited, or the medium through which alone it can be seen in its finished excellence; thus to discover, that in a sense God has need of man for the illustration of Himself, as man has need of God that he may not be utterly insufficient for the least task: this was indeed an initiation into life—truth of the deepest kind.

Much has been made in the history of mystical philosophy of the principle of the *coincidentia extremorum oppositorum*,² by which the chasm between contrasted abstractions is broken down, and a point of reconciliation is found in the living experience of the individual for seeming contradictions of the understanding. It is an element of truth in the system of Hegel. St. Paul was one of the most powerful exponents of this theorem, which has always, as we believe, gained admission with the deeper thinkers. And never was a simpler nor profounder application given to it than in

¹ Cf. *ελευθερία* in Liddell and Scott with *ελευθερία* in Cramer; on *ελευθερία*, Lightfoot, *Phil.* iii. 15, *s. fin.*

² Cf. Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philos.* ii. 27, 201.

the passage already alluded to : *ὅταν ἀσθενῶ, τότε δυνατός εἰμι*. Weakness—might ; how can these opposites be possibly united in the experience of the same soul, and at the same time ? The Stoic¹ had his way of seeking a solution. But, noble as are the aspirations of Epictetus, with his emphasis on the *τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῶν*, "the things that lie within our own power," it must be confessed that they lie beyond the strain of common minds, and are easily liable to become an affectation and a pedantry. The Stoic's position is, so to say, *anthropo-centric*, self-poised simply ; that of the Christian mystic *Theo-centric*, or *Christo-centric*, reposing on God in Christ. With the former, strength is from self ; with the latter it is from a source distinctly other than self. "I can do all things,"—so far the proverbial "wise man" of the Stoics joined with the Apostle in a common boast. But when the latter adds, "through Him that strengtheneth me," he separates himself by a world from the mere philosopher. Stoicism may have built up a few select souls into ethical grandeur ; while St. Paul's words have been echoed back, and his experience has been reflected again in multitudes of the simple-hearted.

Again. These thoughts may be illustrated from what he says concerning his *ἰκανότης* in 2 Cor. iii. 5 : "Not that *from ourselves* we are sufficient, to account anything as from ourselves ; but our sufficiency is from God ; who also made us sufficient as ministers of a new covenant."

When we compare these words with the extraordinary life of toil and suffering, of gentle and holy constancy of which they are in part the expression and the illustration, we cannot fail to see that the term which speaks of an "initiation" is used with emphatic significance, and that here we have indeed lighted upon a "secret of Paul." That flexibility of temper, that pliancy under the changing conditions of outward life, its

¹ See Lightfoot, *Philippians*, iv. 11, for *ἀνθρώπου* in Seneca and M. Aurelius ; also the dissertation (*ib.*) on "St. Paul and Seneca."

superfluities and its defects of comfort—what can impart it save the conscious presence of sufficing grace and indwelling power? “Trust thyself; every heart vibrates to that iron string,” says a modern philosopher. And again, “Discontent is the want of self-reliance; it is infirmity of will.”¹ Our generation owes this philosopher much spiritual stimulus; but we cannot hold that his teaching supplants that of Paul. Are we made of stuff so stern? That iron determination which would crush circumstances and deify will—what is it but the Stoic over-strain and affectation back again? To deny our inherent frailty is to lie to ourselves; to ignore it is to practise upon ourselves. What we need is that which will supplement the constitutional weakness, and impart not the rigidity of steel, but the plasticity of clay to the soul. To attempt to force our stamp and mould upon the event, to throw ourselves upon obstacles for the illustration of our strength,—this is will, this is pride, or self-reliance; to allow the divine will to exhibit all the finish of its kindly excellence in and by means of our defect,—this is humility, this is religion in its secret and mysterious consolation.

Writing to churches in Greece, St. Paul must have been well aware that the use of such words as *μυστήρια* and *ἁγία ῥήματα* would call up the associations of the Mysteries to the minds of those who listened to his words. Yet all that was objective, ceremonial, and sacramentarian has vanished from his use of the terms. They have a subjective, a spiritual acceptance. They hint, not of revelations to the eye, but to and in the soul. They are cleansed from any evil taint of superstition. With Paul, all that is sacramental is spiritual, is founded on the living relation of the soul to its God. In this light, adoption² into the family of God through faith might be viewed as the true Christian initiation. And in that state, secrets were ever to be learned, new insights into

¹ R. W. Emerson, *Essay on Self-Reliance*.

² *S. v. adoption* in Cramer.

the meaning of life, its beginning and its end, never imparted at Eleusis, or at Samothrace, were to be obtained. Often in Chrysostom the expression occurs, "The initiated know."¹ And indeed Christians are permitted to behold a light in darkness more splendid than that which broke upon the heathen mysts, and to catch glimpses of that goal and end, that τελειότης, or state of completeness ("perfectness") to which it is the will of God to bring them.

E. JOHNSON.

¹ Ἰσχυρὸν εἰ μνημονεύειν, said to occur 50 times in Chrysostom (H. Casaubon), Bingham, *Antt.* 3. 105, ed. 1834; Augusti, *Christl. Archæol.* 1. 127.

THE WITNESS OF ST. CLEMENT OF ROME TO CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

THE value of St. Clement of Rome's testimony to historical Christian doctrine is beyond dispute. Written as his Epistle was from the centre of Christendom and the metropolis of the world, by the head of the principal Church, who was both a successor and probably a spiritual child of St. Peter,¹ who "had seen the blessed Apostles, had conversed with them, and had their preaching still ringing in his ears and their tradition before his eyes,"² it expresses the mind of the Apostolic Church in whose name it was written, and of the Apostolic father who was a living ear-witness of the tradition. Written as it was to another Apostolic Church, and accepted by it apparently with every mark of honour, it comes down to us as an official document with the stamp of primitive approval, and with a rank second only to canonical. The purpose of the letter, too, being disciplinary and hortatory, rather than dogmatic, the doctrinal testimony to the current creed is indirect, and unconscious,³ and "beyond all suspicion of design." Doctrine is the natural subsoil rather than the actual superstructure of the letter. The writer again is a personal deposit of the Apostolic faith, and the witness of the close of the Apostolic age. The intermingling currents of thought meet in him without confusion. He stands at the extreme verge of the æon of inspiration; and in him the uninspired note is first heard, so varied, and often so noble, in its after harmonies. His voice mingles with the contem-

¹ *Vid.* former article on St. Clement of Rome, *Monthly Interpreter*, Jan. 1885.

² *Iren. c. Hær.* iii. 3.

³ Probably excepting the section on the Resurrection, which appears to be directly polemical.

porary Gospel, and First Epistle of the aged Apostle, the last lingering cadences of the *μακάριος χόρος*; it anticipates the tones of Ignatius and Polycarp. Again his witness is in a degree independent. The life of Christ he had learned from living lips, rather than written memoirs. The belief of the Apostles he had learned, partly at any rate, at first hand from their own mouths. We have then an authentic and independent witness to their Confession, and to the Creed of the Church during the last decade of the first century in the document before us. To analyze this testimony in detail will now be the task before us.

The Holy Trinity.—The doctrine of the Holy Trinity is expressed in two passages—

(1) Chap. xlv. "Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace that was shed upon us?"

(2) Chap. lviii. "For as God liveth, and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit, who are the faith and the hope of the elect."

(1) The doctrine of the Trinity in Unity forms the basis of an argument for unity in the Christian body at Corinth and amongst all "the members of Christ," many of whom had been infected by their example.

(2) This passage was preserved by St. Basil, *de Spir. Sanct.* cxxix., as a fragment, and was found in its proper context in the newly-recovered fragment. The form of adjuration, *ὅς ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι*, "As surely as God liveth, so surely," etc., is Jewish. It occurs frequently in the LXX. Bp. Lightfoot quotes *e.g.* 1 Sam. xx. 3, xxvi. 16, xxix. 6; 1 Kings xxii. 14, etc. But St. Clement pointedly Christianizes the formula, by expressing it in Trinitarian language, and by his emphatic repetition of the *ὅς* accentuates the distinction between the First and Second Person, and their co-equality.

God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth.—That the writer believed Almighty God to be the Maker and Sustainer of heaven and earth may be abundantly proved.

Chap. xix. "Father and Maker (κτίστην) of the whole world."

Chap. xx. "The great Creator (δημιουργός) and Master (δεσπότης) of the universe."

The two are paired again chap. xxxiii., δεσπότης more than twenty times is applied to the Father.

Ibid. "The Heavens," "day and night," "the sun and the moon and the dancing stars," "the earth bearing fruit," "the abysses," "the basin of the boundless sea," "the ocean," "the seasons," "the winds," "the ever-flowing fountains," in fact all the forces and orders of Nature, "yea, the smallest of living things" are summoned as witnesses to the Divine system of order and organization in the world and in the Church.

Chap. xxxv. "The Creator and Father of the ages," *i.e.* the Eternal, the timeless Maker of time.

Chap. lv. "The all-seeing Master, the God of the ages."

Chap. lix. "Thy Name which is the primal source (τὸ ἀρχηγόνον) of all creation. . . . Who alone art the Benefactor of spirits; and the God of all flesh . . . the Creator and Overseer of every spirit."

Chap. lx. "Thou through Thine operations didst make manifest the everlasting fabric (τὴν ἀέναον σύστασιν) of the world. Thou, Lord, didst create the earth."

God's relation to the world is as intimate and personal at any and every moment as when He created it. The continuity of His rule is unbroken.

Jesus Christ our Lord.—The next article in an early creed would be, "I believe in Jesus Christ our Lord," etc. Could Clement subscribe to this article? What thinks he of Christ?

Chap. ii. "His sufferings were before your eyes." The antecedent to "His" is Θεοῦ according to the more probable reading, A (followed by Lightfoot and Harnack). C S, however, read Χριστοῦ.

Chap. xxii. "Now all these things the faith which is in Christ confirmeth; for He Himself through His Holy Spirit

thus inviteth us." A quotation from the LXX. of Ps. xxxiv. 11 sq. follows. Here is implied (1) the pre-Incarnate existence of Christ; (2) His inspiration of the O. T.; (3) the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

Chap. xvi. "He Himself saith, 'But I am a worm and no man,'" etc., from the LXX. of Ps. xxii. 6-8. The application of the Psalm to Christ was probably suggested by Matt. xxvii. 43.

Chap. xxxvi. "But of His Son the Master said thus, 'Thou art my Son, I this day have begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and I will give Thee the Gentiles for Thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for Thy possession.' And again He saith unto Him, 'Sit Thou on my right hand, until I make Thine enemies a footstool for Thy feet.'"

The whole passage is borrowed from that Epistle to the Hebrews which so largely colours the thought of the writer.

The above passages indicate that Christ was to the consciousness of the writer the Divine Messiah. Are the historical facts of His life accepted in this letter? and the doctrines which in the Christian creed hinge upon those facts and derive their whole meaning from them?

The Incarnation of Christ is implied in—

Chap. xvi. "The sceptre of the majesty of God, even our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the pomp of arrogance or of pride, though He might have done so, but in lowliness of mind"—and forms the ground of a plea for humility; and the remainder of the chapter applies to Him the Messianic Isa. liii.

Chap. xxxii. "Of him is the Lord Jesus concerning the flesh"—

i.e. the Lord Jesus derives His human descent from Jacob. This is a more specific statement than the last; but no further details are referred to. The name of the Lord's mother is not mentioned.

The Atonement.—The next article of a Christian Creed is the suffering of the Lord Jesus Christ, upon which depends the doctrine of the Atonement. On the subject of the Atonement,

"none of the ante-Nicene fathers, with the exception of Irenæus and Origen, propound any definite theory."¹ But the historical fact of Christ's death and its essential connection with human redemption is clearly and repeatedly asserted by St. Clement.

Chap. vii. "Let us fix our eyes on the blood of Christ, and understand how precious it is unto His Father, because being shed for our salvation it won for the whole world the grace of repentance."

Chap. xii. The "scarlet thread" of Rahab showed beforehand "that through the blood of the Lord there shall be redemption unto all them that believe and hope in God."

Chap. xxi. "Let us fear the Lord Jesus whose blood was given for us" (*ὑπέρ*).

Chap. xvi. The reference to Isa. liii. has been already alluded to; but there is a remarkable change from the LXX. text in St. Clement's reading: "And the Lord delivered Him over for (*ὑπέρ*) our sins," instead of the LXX. *ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις*.

Chap. xxxvi. "This is the way wherein we found our salvation (*τὸ σωτήριον*), Jesus Christ the High Priest of our offerings."

Chap. xxxviii. "Let our whole body be saved in Christ Jesus."

Chap. xlix. "For the love which He had toward us Jesus Christ our Lord hath given His blood for us by the will of God, and His flesh for our flesh, and His life for our lives."

The wealth of allusion to the "meritorious Passion" of the Redeemer in the document has hardly received sufficient justice at the hands of commentators and historians of doctrine. The last-named passage is a gem of purest ray serene, original in form. The words lingered in the ears of the Church, to judge from an apparent echo of them, Irenæus, v. 1. 1.

The One Mediator.—The Mediation² of Christ is a prominent

¹ H. N. Oxenham, *Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement*, p. 100; cf. J. J. Lias, *The Atonement*, pp. 45, 123.

² Cf. J. J. Lias, *The Atonement*, p. 39: "The mediatorial office of Christ is frequently represented as entirely confined to His suffering and dying upon the

thought in the Epistle. It begins and ends; it is the Alpha and Omega. The opening salutation:—

“The Church of God which sojourneth in **Rome** to the Church of God which sojourneth in **Corinth**, to them which are called and sanctified by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ, **Grace** to you and peace from Almighty God through Jesus Christ be multiplied,”—

implies that the man Jesus Christ is the medium between God and the Church in respect—(1) of the calling; (2) of sanctification; (3) of grace; (4) of peace. The closing benediction:—

“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all men in all places who have been called by God and through Him, through whom is glory and honour, power and greatness and eternal dominion, unto Him for the ages past and for ever and ever,”—

emphasizes the mediation of Christ as to—(1) calling; (2) worship; (3) in the past and for ever.

Chap. xx. Christ is represented as the channel of our access to God’s “compassions.”

Chap. xxxvi. has been partly quoted above. The passage continues, thus connecting His mediation present with His act of redemption past:—

“Through Him let us look stedfastly unto the heights of the heavens; through Him we behold as in a mirror His faultless and most high visage; through Him the eyes of our hearts were opened; through Him our foolish and darkened mind bloometh up (*ἀναθάλλει*) into the light; through Him the Master willed that we should taste of the immortal knowledge.”

The relation of the believer to Christ is exhibited as a personal relation. The spiritual eye, the moral eye, the intellectual eye, are by Him opened. He is the way of every element of our nature Godward. The vision of Him is the vision of God. He who is the Light gives the light whereby

cross for our sins. As a matter of fact it embraces everything that He can be said to have done for us, or to be doing for us now.”

alone we see Him.¹ Four times "through Him" is repeated in the passage by way of emphasis.

Chap. lviii. "So surely shall he, who, etc., be enrolled and have a name among the number of them that are being saved through Jesus Christ, through whom is the glory unto Him for ever and ever."

Compare this with chap. xxxvi. above.

Chap. lix. Here begins the long liturgical prayer which ends chap. lxiv. Various resemblances have been traced to the prayers of the synagogue. There are elements in it, however, which could have found no place in Jewish originals. They must have been superadded. The Name of Jesus Christ comes in quite naturally. It is grafted in by those who could not mould their devotions after Jewish forms without imposing upon them a Christian vocabulary.

Chap. lix. "Who hast chosen out from all men those that love Thee through Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son,² through whom Thou didst instruct us, didst sanctify us, didst honour us. . . . Let all the Gentiles know that Thou art God alone, and Jesus Christ is Thy Son, and we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture."

Chap. lxi. "O Thou, who alone art able to do these and things more exceeding good than these for us, we praise Thee through the High Priest and Guardian of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be the glory," etc.

Chap. lxiv. "Finally, may the all-seeing God and Master of spirits, and Lord of all flesh, who chose the Lord Jesus Christ and us through Him for a peculiar people, grant unto every soul . . . that they may be well-pleasing unto His name through our High Priest and Guardian Jesus Christ, through whom unto Him be," etc.

In the mind of the writer it is clear that the relation of

¹ Cf. Pascal: "Nous ne connaissons Dieu que par Jésus-Christ. Sans ce médiateur est ôtée toute communication avec Dieu; par Jésus-Christ nous connaissons Dieu."

² *radîc, al.* "servant," but *vid.* Lightfoot, *s.l.*

Christ to the believer did not end on the cross, that it is a personal, immediate, living relation. Born and bred as he was a Jew, steeped in an atmosphere of Jewish thought and religion, worship has become impossible to him except in the name of Jesus Christ. It is the air he breathes; it is the language of his soul within the precincts of the Most High. It is the natural outcome of a creed which, lacking Christ, lacks the one thing needful. The person of Christ dominates his worship, as we shall show later He is Master of his life.

The mediation of Christ, as High Priest, followed the consideration of the Clementine doctrine of His sacrifice in order of thought rather than in order of time.

The Resurrection.—The resurrection of Christ is a historical and doctrinal fact, of which Clement is well aware.

Chap. xxiv. "Let us understand how the Master continually showeth unto us the resurrection that shall be hereafter; whereof He made the Lord Jesus Christ the first-fruit, when He raised Him from the dead."

Chap. xlii. "The apostles therefore having received a charge, and having been fully assured through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ."

In the first passage the resurrection of Jesus Christ constitutes the ground of belief in the future resurrection of Christians. Clement also argues from natural analogies in the same and following chapters in defence of this Christian belief, having in view some revival of the errors combated by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv.). His analogies suggest an universal resurrection; his actual statement is restricted to that of "them that have served Him (the Creator) with holiness in the assurance of a good faith." In the second passage the resurrection of Jesus Christ is viewed subjectively in relation to its effect on the apostles. The resurrection was the final guarantee and certification of their mission.

Second Advent.—There are no allusions to the ascension, but it is implied in the reference to the Second Advent:—

Chap. xxiii. "Of a truth quickly and suddenly shall His will be accomplished, the Scripture also bearing witness to it, saying; He shall come quickly and shall not tarry; and the Lord shall come suddenly into His temple, even the Holy One, whom ye expect."

The quotation from the acknowledged Messianic prophecy (Mal. iii. 1) specifies the advent of the Holy One as the personal coming of Christ.

Chap. xxxiv. combines various Old Testament passages (Isa. xl. 10, lxii. 11; Dan. vii. 10) with no special New Testament allusions, unless it be a reminiscence of Rev. xxii. 12, which would not be admitted by those who reject the early date of the Apocalypse.

Chap. l. "In the visitation of the kingdom of God." Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 12.

Funk reads kingdom of Christ, but the reading of A is doubtful. Bishop Lightfoot follows C S as above.

Christ the Moral Ideal.—Further, that Christ is the moral and spiritual ideal of man, His life the pattern life, His character the exemplary character, in the consciousness of the writer, is evident from various expressions.

'Chap. iii. "Each man hath forsaken the fear of the Lord, . . . nor liveth according to that which becometh Christ."

κατὰ τὸ καθήκον τῷ Χριστῷ, Christ is the absolute model to which the Christian must conform. To live as becometh Christ and to live as becometh the Christian are properly the same thing.

Chap. xiii. "Let us therefore be lowly minded. . . : For the Holy Ghost saith, 'Let not the,' etc., . . . most of all remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake, teaching forbearance and long-suffering."

He is held out as a pattern of lowliness again twice in chap. xvi.; and the words of "Jesus our Lord" are called to their minds again, chap. xlv.

Chap. xlvii. "Unworthy of your conduct in Christ." Cf. chap. i. : "Your sober and forbearing piety in Christ."

Chap. xlix. "Let him that hath love in Christ fulfil the commandments of Christ."

Is his Christ Johannine?—The two virtues in the character of Christ upon which Clement insists are lowliness and love, because they were two ornaments missing in the Christian life at Corinth. The above passage is one of the very few which shows possible indications of Johannine influence. Dr. Westcott cites two such,¹ from chaps. vii. and xxxvi. It is difficult to accept his conclusion, or in fact to derive any single passage from an unquestionable Johannine origin. The following passages are placed side by side in Funk's index:—John iii. 16; Cl. xlix. 6: John xii. 26; Cl. lix. 30: John xiv. 15; Cl. xlix. 1: John xv. 13; Cl. xlix. 6: John xvii. 3; Cl. xliii. 6, lix. 3: John xvii. 17; Cl. lix. 3, lx. 2: John xvii. 18, xx. 21; Cl. xlii. 1, 2: 1 John iv. 9, 10; Cl. xlix. 6: 1 John v. 1–3; Cl. xlix. 1: Rev. xxii. 12; Cl. xxxiv. 3. Not one of these parallels carries conviction of Johannine inspiration. The nearest is perhaps the expression (chap. xliii.) *εἰς τὸ δοξασθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ μόνου Θεοῦ*, compared with John xvii. 3. This may, however, be an echo of the common oral tradition which reached St. Clement. Had the Roman bishop been acquainted with the fourth Gospel, it is most unlikely that it would have left so slight and dubious an impress upon his pages, especially as the contents of that Gospel, *e.g.* the discourses of our Lord, and more particularly His prayer for unity, would have provided him with arguments he could have ill afforded to lose. Considering the late date of the fourth Gospel, and the time required for its circulation in the West, it would have been strange to have found its footprints in a document written at the most but a very few years later, from a Church and to a Church widely distant from the

¹ *On the Canon*, p. 25.

scene of St. John's labours and unfamiliar with his presence. It would have been stranger still if the First Epistle, "the final book of Revelation," had coloured the document. And the supposed allusion to the Apocalypse is also hazardous and uncertain.

The Christ of the writer is the Christ of St. Paul, of St. Peter, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews. His Gospel is the Pauline Gospel. Even the specially Roman Gospel of the *ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου*¹ has left but indistinct marks upon his language.² The Clementine Christology is not indebted to St. John. But nothing is wanting in his portraiture of the Divinity of Jesus, if the date of the document be taken into consideration. Before the shock of the Arian conflict, an Athanasian fulness of statement would have been strange, and indeed highly suspicious. St. Clement has apparently no heresies in connection with the person of Christ to combat. His attack is upon ecclesiastical disorder. The differences in the Corinthian Church relate to ecclesiastical organization. There is but one hint at doctrinal shortcoming. Upon the whole, it would be impossible to eliminate the divinity of Christ without the total disintegration of the document.

The passages variously cited exhaust the Clementine Christology.

The Holy Ghost.—There are frequent allusions to the person of the Holy Ghost. In addition to some passages already quoted may be noticed—

Chap. viii. "The ministers of the grace of God through the Holy Ghost spake concerning repentance."

The context identifies these ministers with the prophets and preachers of righteousness. The Holy Ghost spake by the prophets.

¹ Papias, Iren. ap. Westcott. *The Study of the Gospels*, p. 230.

² Cf. Mark vii. 6; Cl. xv. 2; Mark ix. 42, xiv. 21; Cl. xvi. 8; Mark xiii. 28, 29; Cl. xxiii. 4.

Chap. ii. "An abundant outpouring of the Holy Spirit fell upon all;"—

I.e. in the brighter, holier days of the Corinthian past. Several times the inspiration of Holy Scripture is understood to belong to the office of the Holy Spirit; *e.g.* chap. xiii. "the Holy Ghost saith."

Chap. xvi. "According as the Holy Spirit spake concerning Him" (Christ). Cf. xxii. xlv.

Chap. xlii. "The Apostles having been fully assured through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and confirmed in the word of God with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, went forth;"—

The order is both spiritual and historical. After the resurrection they received the gift of the Holy Ghost. The reference then is mainly to Pentecost. Further on in the same chapter:—

"So preaching everywhere in country and town, they appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit."

Justification.—The Clementine doctrine of justification, like all his teaching, bears many traces of Pauline influence. He finds no difficulty in harmonizing and combining St. Paul and St. James; just as any opposition between St. Peter and St. Paul is outside his experience.

Chap. xxxi. "Wherefore was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith?"

Chap. xxxii. "They all therefore were glorified and magnified, not through themselves or their own works or the righteous doing which they wrought, but through His will. And so we, having been called through His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified through ourselves or through our own wisdom or understanding or piety or works which we wrought in holiness of heart, but through faith, whereby the Almighty God justified all men that have been from the beginning."

Bishop Browne¹ entitles this "probably the most express statement on the subject which occurs in all the writings of the fathers." But St. Clement is unable to conceive of faith apart from good works. Immediately after the above declaration that faith alone justifies, he cautions the Corinthians:—

Chap. xxxiii. "What then must we do? Must we idly abstain from doing good and forsake love? . . . let us hasten with instancy and zeal to accomplish every good work . . . let us with all our strength work the work of righteousness."

To the same effect in chap. xxxiv. His examples are not new, Abraham and Rahab.

Chap. xxxi. "Wherefore was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith?"

Chap. xii. "For her faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot was saved."

"And the same tenor of thought reappears in the continual reference to the fear of God as instrumental in the accomplishment of these good works" (chaps. iii. xix. xxi. etc.).²

Election.—Another Pauline doctrine besides justification, that of election, is a factor in the Clementine creed. *οἱ ἐκλεκτοί* is a favourite phrase. At the time when Christians formed the smallest of inner circles in a wide and wicked world, a singular wealth of meaning underlay the expression. But the election contemplated in the document before us is always to grace, not to glory.

Chap. xxix. "Our Father who made us an elect portion unto Himself. For thus it is written: 'When the Most High divided the nations, when He dispersed the sons of Adam, He fixed the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, and Israel the measurement of His inherit-

¹ On Article XI.

² Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 25.

ance.' And in another place He saith; 'Behold, the Lord taketh for Himself a nation out of the midst of the nations, as a man taketh the first-fruits of His threshing-floor; and the holy of holies shall come forth from that nation.' "

Christians are the elect people, inheriting the spiritual prerogatives of Israel, by a process of Divine and supernatural selection specialized from the world.

Cf. chap. lxiv. "Finally may the all-seeing God . . . Who chose the Lord Jesus Christ, and us through Him for a peculiar people, grant," etc.

And chap. xxxii. "We having been called through His will in Christ Jesus;" and cf. *in fn.*

Chap. lviii. "So surely shall he, who with lowliness of mind and instant gentleness hath without regretfulness performed the ordinances . . . be enrolled and have a name among the number of them that are being saved through Jesus Christ."

The *ἔσται* by itself would point to election to glory, but the present participle *σωζομένων* limits the salvation to present and potential future—"this state of salvation" of the Church Catechism.

Eschatology.—The eschatological evidence of the document may call for attention. The "Intermediate State" is briefly alluded to as "place of glory," "holy place," "abode of the pious."

Chap. v. "Peter having borne his testimony, went to his appointed place of glory . . . Paul departed from the world and went unto the holy place."

Chap. l. "All the generations from Adam unto this day have passed away: but they that by God's grace were perfected in love¹ dwell in the abode (*χωρον*) of the pious; and

¹ *ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐπιλυθίσιντες*. Cf. *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, chap. x. Remember, O Lord, Thy Church . . . καὶ ἐπιλυθῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου. This is not the only point of contact between the two documents.

they shall be made manifest in the visitation of the kingdom of God."

The following passage seems to refer rather to heaven than to Paradise, but may be said to include all things that God hath prepared in the after-world for them that love Him :—

Chap. xxxv. "What then, think ye, are the things preparing for them that patiently await Him? The Creator and Father of the Ages, the All-Holy One Himself knoweth their number and their beauty. Let us therefore contend, that we may be found in the number of those that patiently await Him to the end that we may be partakers of His promised gifts" (cf. xxxiv. *fin.*).

There is no allusion in the document to a place of punishment, intermediate or eternal.

The Devil.—The devil is once alluded to, *ὁ ἀντικείμενος*.

Chap. li. "For all our transgressions which we have committed through any of the wiles of the adversary, let us entreat that we may obtain forgiveness." It seems singular that in all his denunciations of discord, disunion, and envy, the slanderer and the accuser and the sower of tares should not be alluded to. The omission may be due to the conciliatory tone of the letter. It is the message of the peace-maker. He does not spare the "ringleaders," he admits no terms with their "sedition," but he will not call them children of the devil while a door is open to reconciliation. We seem here, as often, to catch some echo of the Pauline spirit.

The Eucharist.—The Eucharist is a subject to which pointed reference is made by St. Clement. Some disorders and irregularities had taken place in the public ministrations; the laymen appear to have encroached on the functions of the presbyters, and those who had "blamelessly ministered to the flock of Christ" had been "unjustly thrust out of their ministration" (*vid.* chaps. xl.-xliv.). The details which appear on the surface are these. The act of public worship is entitled an offering (*προσφορά*), a ministration (*λειτουργία*), and a

thanksgiving (εὐχαριστέω).¹ It is of Divine appointment; it should be made at the fixed time, by the appointed persons, in the proper place. The ministers are in some sense analogous to the Jewish priests, the service to the Jewish sacrifices. A few more words would have cleared up the author's Eucharistic position. The historical fact of its Divine institution, and of a special ministry appointed to hand it on, emerge distinctly from allusions to which the historical key is wanting.

The Holy Apostolic Church.—The Church appears in no shadowy outlines. That city of light was peopled with glad citizens who realized their position in the household of God as partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light. πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας, ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι. ἐπὶ γῆς διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται. As the soul in the body, to continue the language of the Epistle to Diognetus, so were Christians in a corrupt perishing world. "One Holy Apostolic Church" is an article implicit in the Clementine creed, if not explicit. A few quotations will illustrate his position. He begins with the salutation:—

"The Church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth in Corinth."

E.g. (1) The Church of God is one, whether localized at Rome or Corinth. (2) Localization is temporal. Jerusalem sojourns below, the home is above. The kingdom of God is eternal.

Chap. v. Peter and Paul are adduced equally as Christian examples and pillars. The words are addressed to those who made the apostolic names rival watchwords. Unity of faith and fellowship is here tacitly expressed and enforced. The

¹ "It is probable that a Eucharistic sense should be admitted where Clement of Rome speaks of εὐχὰς in *Ep. Cor.* xlv.," and *vid. reff. s. l.* p. 16. Bright, *Notes on the Canons of the First Four General Councils.* *Ib.* p. 15: "The Eucharist was universally regarded as the Christian sacrifice" (Justin Mart. *Dial.* 70, 117; Irenæus, *iv.* 17, 5, etc.; and on *προσφορά*, *ib.* pp. 38, 60. *Λειτουργία*, *ib.* p. 133.

idea of Church authority again is very strong in the letter. "Let us reverence our rulers," "submit to the presbyters," is a constant burden, enforced by arguments and examples. The very purport and occasion of the letter is the restoration of ministerial authority in a refractory body. So in chap. xlv. presbyters are declared to be appointed, mediately or immediately, by the Apostles, "with the consent of the whole Church." And the nominees of the Apostles¹ might be regarded as appointed under the general sanction of the Lord Jesus Christ, who made known to the Apostles "that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office (τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς). For this cause therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterwards they provided a continuance,¹ that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration."

The above statement as to Christ's forewarning the Apostles and equipping them with complete foreknowledge of the matter, indicates a tradition unreported in the canonical documents; a tradition for which the writer was doubtless indebted personally to the Apostles, or to those who had received it from them.

The heads of Christian truth were from the earliest times formulated into short summaries for elementary instruction. Such a summary of faith, as derivable from this document alone, might run in some such way.

Summary of Doctrine.—"I believe in one God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. I believe in God the Father Almighty, Ruler of the angels, Creator of the ages, Maker and Preserver of all things; and in Jesus Christ, His Son our Lord, who was made man, of the seed of Jacob, who died for us men and for our salvation, who rose again from the dead, the first-fruits of the future resurrection, who is the One Mediator between God and man, the High Priest of our offerings, the

¹ *ἐκμερίν*, ap. Lightfoot, u. v.

pattern Man, who will come again quickly. I believe in the Holy Ghost, who spake by the prophets, sent by Christ, who sanctifieth the elect people of God. I believe in an abode awaiting the pious after death, and in life immortal. I believe in One Holy Apostolic Church."

Evidential Value.—It is obvious that such a summary is incomplete. But it would be difficult to name any single document of the Apostolic age out of which by itself the full primitive creed could be constructed—excepting one of the four Gospels. The four unchallenged Epistles of St. Paul would furnish a complete creed taken together. The Epistle to the Romans by itself would go far in the same direction,¹ but some outlines would require filling in or expanding. We are not, for instance, told in the Romans that Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary. But we should not infer from the silence of that Epistle that St. Paul doubted that fact. We should complete his creed, so far as we could, from other documents which bore his signature. We cannot apply the same inductive process to St. Clement, because this letter is the only genuine composition of his in our hands. From known coincidence with current belief, we are justified in inferring unknown coincidence. If, so far as we can read his mind, we discover agreement with the substance of the Catholic faith, complete knowledge of his intellectual position would probably discover complete agreement. Contrary opinions have been expressed as to the literary value of St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, its historical and evidential testimony to the creed of the Western Church is invaluable and indisputable. The letter is essentially a representative document. The confession of faith, which it unconsciously reveals, is a representative confession. Do we, or do we not, find historic concord between this belief and that of the Apostles? "Could St. Paul have subscribed his name to the above for-

¹ Cf. G. Matheson, "The Historical Christ of St. Paul" in the *Expositor*, 1881.

mularies? Upon the legendary hypothesis the tradition would have largely developed, and the name of the Christian founder been surrounded by an increasing halo of embellishments. As a matter of fact there is no accretion of doctrine. The writer is studious to shelter himself under the words and doctrines of the Apostles; and singularly careful to bring out indirectly the continuity of the Jewish and the Christian faith, of the old and the new revelation. He shows an eminently conservative mind. But with all his surviving Jewish affinities and sympathies, he cannot remain a Jew. Something more was wanted. He found it in Him who fulfilled all the righteousness of the law and the prophets, and preserved all the permanent elements of the old in the royal law of the new kingdom. How to account for his creed upon any other theory would be a problem easier of suggestion than solution.

J. F. VALLINGS.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

5.—*Christ's Doctrine of Man.*

EVERY doctrine of God has its congruous doctrine of man. A consistent pantheism, for example, regards man as insignificant, not distinguishable from nature, not generically different from the beasts. The Christian idea of God, on the contrary, is naturally associated with high views as to the dignity and worth of human nature in its ideal, if not in its actual condition. For as God cannot be the God of the dead but of the living, so neither can He be the Father of beings not intrinsically superior to the brutes. His children must be made in His own image, and possess the inalienable dignity of personality constituted by the possession of reason and freedom. Accordingly Jesus taught a high doctrine concerning the dignity of man. He said with unexampled emphasis: a man is a man, not a mere human animal; he is a being of infinite importance to God, and ought to be such also to himself and to his fellows. He quaintly hinted the deep truth by asking such thought-provoking questions as these: Is not the life more than meat?¹ How much is a man better than a sheep?² What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?³

Jesus taught His new doctrine of man more emphatically by His public action than by these or any other kindred words. In His invitations to enter the kingdom, He addressed Himself very specially, as we have already had occasion to remark, to the poor, to those who were in bad social repute, to the labouring and heavy-laden, the children of sorrow and care. This did not mean that He was animated by class partialities, and desired to set one part of society against

¹ Matt. vi. 25.² Matt. xii. 12.³ Matt. xvi. 26.

another; the destitute against the wealthy, the profligates against well-conducted citizens. As little did the new interest in people of humble rank signify that Jesus regarded poverty as a virtue, of itself a passport into the kingdom of heaven. Some indeed have thought otherwise. "Pure Ebionism," says Renan, "that is, the doctrine that the poor alone shall be saved, that the kingdom of the poor is about to come, was the doctrine of Jesus. . . . Poverty remained an ideal from which the true lineage of Jesus never broke away. To possess nothing was the true evangelic state; mendicity became a virtue, a holy state."¹ This may be a slightly plausible, but it is certainly a mistaken judgment. With equal plausibility might it be maintained that, according to Christ's teaching, publicans and harlots were as such fit subjects of the divine kingdom. The truth is that poverty and sorrow were not, any more than bad character, positive qualifications for citizenship, but merely conditions that were likely to act as predisposing causes, preparing men to listen with interest to the announcement that the kingdom was at hand.

The prominence given to the *poor* in the Gospel of the kingdom, in so far as it had theoretic significance, and was not the spontaneous expression of compassion, marked the value set by Jesus on man as man. The poor represent man stripped of all extrinsic attributes of honour, and reduced to that which is common to all mankind. On this naked humanity the world has ever set little value. It begins to interest itself in a man when he is clothed with some outward distinction of wealth or birth or station. A mere man is a social nobody. Christ, on the other hand, highly valued in man only his humanity, accounting nothing he could possess of such importance as what he himself was or might become. "What is a man profited," He asked, "if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own life?"² The life declared to be so precious is that in man which makes him a man—the life of a spirit

¹ *Vie de Jésus*, pp. 179, 183.² Matt. xvi. 26.

conversant with things divine. For the preservation and health of this higher life, Jesus taught, the lower animal life and all possessions should, if need were, be sacrificed.

By the interest He took in the *depraved*, Jesus still further accentuated His doctrine as to the value of human nature. "Honest poverty" has a certain worth appreciable even by those who set their hearts on possessions. But what shall be said of humanity stripped not only of outward goods but even of character? That it is still humanity, replied the "friend of publicans and sinners," with latent spiritual powers capable of development, with the solemn responsibilities of moral agents, with features of the divine image not yet wholly effaced and that may be restored. He did not deny the degradation, or utter sentimental apologies for the sin; but He did deny the irrecoverableness. He hoped for those of whom the world despaired, the world of culture as represented by philosophers like Aristotle and Celsus; the world of sanctity as represented by contemporary Pharisees. And because He hoped, He laboured, seeking as a physician to heal sick souls, as a shepherd to recover straying sheep.

Out of this high doctrine of the dignity of human nature springs the doctrine of immortality. That doctrine needed no separate announcement. Man in Christ's teaching is so great a being that he inevitably projects himself into eternity. The present world cannot hold him. The anthropology of Jesus also contains the germs of all manner of social improvements in the earthly life of man. It has been alleged, indeed, that by its other-worldliness Christ's teaching breeds indifference to temporal interests. "The aim of Christianity," remarks Renan, "was in no respect the perfecting of human society, or the increase of the sum of individual happiness. Men try to make themselves as comfortable as possible when they take in earnest the earth and the days they are to spend on it. But when one is told that the earth is about to pass away, that this life is but a brief probation, the insignificant prelude

of an eternal ideal, to what good embellish it? One does not think of decorating the hovel in which he is to remain only for a moment."¹ But connect the doctrine of the life to come with its proper root, man's dignity as possessor of personality and filially related to God, and there is no risk of the present life being overlooked. Man's dignity holds true in reference to both worlds, and must be respected in all relations. Each man must treat himself now as becomes a man, and must be so treated by his fellow-man. *Noblesse oblige*. The children of the resurrection must conduct themselves as become the heirs of a great destiny. It is therefore to be expected that, except when under the influence of morbid moods such as manifest themselves occasionally in all religions, believers in a future life will be as mindful of present human interests, physical and social, as the adherents of the modern religion of humanity, in which the divine Father and the heavenly home are discarded and only earth and man retained. It does seem indeed as if a creed which says, "This life is all, therefore make the most of it," ought to make the most of it. But there is no small risk under this new creed of men growing weary in well-doing, through deadly doubt as to the worth of human life. While one generation says, "This life is all, let us make the most of it for ourselves and others," the next may go on to say, "This life is all, therefore it does not much matter how it is spent. Misery, vice, injustice—society is full of them; but no matter, it will soon all end for any individual victim."

The tendency of Christ's doctrine of man to make for social improvement is apt to be overlooked because of the indirectness of its method of working. The method of Christianity is to work by idealism, not by agitation; as a regenerative influence, not as a movement of reform. It does not say slavery is wrong, and follow up the assertion by an agitation for abolition and by stirring up servile insurrection. It says:

¹ *Marc Aurèle*, p. 605.

"A slave is a man, and may be a noble man," and leaves the idea to work as a leaven slowly but surely towards emancipation and freedom. To ardent reformers the method may appear slow, and those who use it chargeable with apathy. On this very account the Baptist doubted the Messiahship of Jesus. Jesus was in no hurry to renovate the world. He let it go on in its bad way, and meantime did all the good He could. To the fiery reformer the slow, indirect method of the Regenerator seemed most unsatisfactory. Nevertheless the slow method turned out in the long-run to be the surest.

To value human nature in its ideal is one thing, to take flattering views of its real state as seen in the average man is another. Jesus did the former; He did not do the latter. The interest He took in the poor, the suffering, the depraved, was not sentimental. These classes were not pets of whose condition He took an indulgent, partial view, deeming the poor the victims of wrong, and the sinful good-hearted, though weak-willed people. He was under no illusion as to the average moral condition of mankind. He saw clearly that few realized their moral responsibilities, and conducted themselves as became sons of the Father in heaven; and He spake as one well aware of the fact. He compared men as He found them to wandering sheep, lost coins, prodigal sons:¹ expressions certainly implying grave departure from the requirements of the moral ideal. It is therefore a serious mistake to suppose that Christ's view of human nature in its actual condition was, to use a theological term, Pelagian. Baur puts a strained meaning on certain of His words, when he says that according to the teaching of the parable of the sower it lies with man himself to come into the kingdom of God, in his own will, his own natural capacity and receptivity.² A similar false impression, formed from stray utterances, seems to have dictated the remark made by Mr. Mill in his *Essays on Religion*: "According to the creed of most denominations

¹ Luke xv.

² *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche*, i. 34.

of Christians (though assuredly not of Christ), man is by nature wicked.”¹ Christ’s authority might be cited for much that is said in the creeds on the subject of human depravity. He saw in human lives all around Him the evidence of sin’s corrupting, deadening, enslaving power.

Yet it must be admitted, on the other hand, that Christ’s way of speaking concerning human depravity was not in all respects like that of scholastic theology. The way of this theology is to take all Bible terms as used with scientific strictness, and thereon to build the edifice of dogma; forgetful that the Bible to a large extent is literature, not dogma, and that its words are fluid and poetic, not fixed and prosaic. Thus the natural man is held to be “dead” as a stone is dead. Christ’s view was more sympathetic, hopeful, and kindly. He saw in the sinful something more than death, depravity, and bondage—some spark of vitality, some latent affinity for good, an imprisoned spirit longing to be free, a true self victimized by Satanic agency, that would fain escape from thrall. On this better element He ever kept His eye; His constant effort was to get into contact with it, and He refused to despair of success. Most significant in this connection are the words in which He compared the multitude, whose spiritual destitution moved His compassion, to an abundant harvest waiting to be reaped.² The comparison implies not only urgency, but *susceptibility*. The grain is ready to be reaped. The people are ready to receive any one who comes to them in God’s name with a veritable gospel on his lips, and an honest human love in his heart; the evidence being the way they crowded around Jesus Himself. A recent writer on the life of Jesus remarks that the words are parabolic, and that the term harvest was not applicable to the spiritual sphere: in that region it was seed-sowing, not harvest-work that was in request.³ This is simply a superficial explaining away of the words. The

¹ *Three Essays on Religion*, p. 10.

² Matt. ix. 37.

³ Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, ii. 119.

very point of interest in the saying is that Jesus does mean to say there is an abundant harvest waiting to be reaped among the masses. Doubtless it was a harvest not visible to the professional religious guides of Israel, any more than to modern commentators. What was apparent to them was merely the ignorance, the vice, the sordid misery of the million; not a harvest, but a heap of rotting weeds exciting aversion. The harvest existed only for the eye of a faith whose vision was sharpened by love. Therein precisely lay the difference between Jesus and the rabbis. Where they saw only useless noxious rubbish, He, with His loving, hopeful spirit, saw useful grain; not mere sin, but possibilities of good; not utter hopeless depravity, but indefinite capabilities of sanctity. There an extensive harvest for the kingdom might be reaped, in conversions of profligates into devotees, of moral outcasts into exemplary citizens, of ignorant men into attached disciples. No wonder the religious guides of Israel misunderstood the sinner's Friend! How could they fail to misunderstand the conduct of a man whose thoughts of the people they heartlessly abandoned to the fate of an untended flock were so generous and hopeful? It was so much easier to call Him a bad man than to comprehend a love in which they had no share!

Sympathy and hope were expressed in the very terms which Jesus employed to describe the moral degeneracy of those whose good He sought. The remark specially applies to the term "lost" so often used by Him with that view. It is a word expressive of compassion rather than of judicial severity. It points to a condition falling far short of final irretrievable perdition. To express that state the middle voice of the verb ἀπόλλυμι is sometimes used;¹ but the neuter participle τὸ ἀπολωλός, applied by Jesus to the objects of His loving care, denotes rather a condition of peril like that of a straying sheep, or of waste like that of a lost coin,

¹ *Vid.* John iii. 16.

or of thoughtlessness ending in misery like that of a wayward youth. The lost ones have wandered unwittingly from the fold; they are living in forgetfulness of the chief end of man; they are children of passion, obeying fitful impulse, and impatient of moral restraints. But they are lost *sheep* that may be brought back to the fold; they are lost *coins* possessing value if only they could be found; they are lost *sons of God*, with filial memories and filial feelings buried in their hearts which will rise to the surface when want and woe have brought them to their senses.

In the story of Zacchæus¹ the epithet seems to express a relation to society rather than a moral condition. As applied to the chief publican, it describes the state of one who is a victim of social ostracism. There is nothing in the narrative to show that he was a bad man. They called him a "sinner," but that was due to popular prejudice. He was a publican, and rich; and no further evidence of guilt was needed. What he states concerning himself is very much to his credit. For one occupying the position of a tax-gatherer to give half of his goods to the poor, and to restore fourfold what he may have taken from others in excess, argues no ordinary virtue. It has indeed been supposed that Zacchæus spoke of what he meant to do in future, rather than of what he had been in the habit of doing. But he spoke in self-defence against evil insinuations, and his words would carry weight only if they not merely expressed purposes formed under a sudden impulse, but stated actual undeniable facts. That they did so is a natural inference from his eager desire to see Jesus. Evidently his remarkable behaviour springs from something deeper than curiosity. He has a history which explains the interest he feels in the Man who has the courage to be the publican's friend. He sees in Jesus one who does not believe all the evil things said of an unpopular class, and regards it as possible that good may be found even among publicans. Not that he

¹ Luke xix. 1.

claims to have a faultless record; he admits that he has sometimes yielded to the strong temptations connected with his calling. But he has repented of the wrong, and has made strenuous efforts to do justly and to love mercy. This man is not a lost sheep in the moral sense; in love of righteousness he is one among a thousand. But he is still a social outcast, and the Son of Man saves him by giving him brotherly recognition, going to be the guest of one whom most shunned as a leper.¹

Sometimes Jesus used the term "lost" as a synonym for "neglected." So, for example, in the instructions to the disciples in connection with the Galilean mission, in which they were told not to go into the way of the Gentiles, or into any city of the Samaritans, but to go rather to the *lost sheep of the house of Israel*.² The mission had its origin in compassion for the multitude who appeared to the eye of Jesus as a flock of sheep without a shepherd, scattered and faint. The pathetic description implies blame, but blame not of the people but of their professional religious guides, who had neglected their duty and had laid themselves open to the charge brought by the prophet Ezekiel against the shepherds of Israel in his day: "The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away; neither have ye sought that which was lost."³ Their neglect made the mission necessary. The harvest was great, but the labourers were few. Of professional religious officials—priests, scribes, rabbis—there was no lack; and if they had been counted, the number of labourers would not have been small. But they had no sincere human sympathy with the people, and therefore Jesus left them out of account as not available for the harvest work; thus by implication pronouncing a very severe

¹ *Vid.* Sermon on *Zacchæus* by Robertson of Brighton, first series.

² Matt. x. 5, 6.

³ Ezek. xxxiv. 4.

censure on them. It was a very significant judgment, as coming from Him. On some men's lips such a judgment would not amount to much. It is not unusual for enthusiastic promoters of special movements to ignore all but their own associates, and practically to limit what they call "the Lord's work" to that which is being carried on under their direction. This way of speaking is often the utterance of an offensive egotism, and it is always indicative of weakness. But in Christ were no egotism and vanity such as too often reveal themselves in the character of religious zealots. He was ever ready to recognise work done for the good of men, even when the agents stood in no close relation to Himself. His disciples might wish to reserve a monopoly of casting out devils for such as belonged to their company; but if devils were indeed cast out He was satisfied, it mattered not by whom. "Forbid him not,"¹ he said, with reference to an attempt to establish such a monopoly, so throwing his shield over all whose aims are good, however eccentric their methods. Yet He who spake that tolerant word said also "the labourers are few," so virtually asserting that the whole established machinery for the cure of souls in Israel was useless. It was a just judgment, however severe. The parties animadverted on did not even pretend to be labourers in Christ's sense. Their business was to attend to the sacrificial ritual, to copy and comment on the Scriptures, to study and teach the law. Those who neglected the feasts, and were ignorant of the law, they dismissed from their thoughts with a malediction. Reflecting on these false shepherds of Israel and their heartless indifference, we perceive that the prayer Jesus exhorted His disciples to offer up for the increase of labourers cannot have had in view the mere multiplication of persons professionally occupied with religion. It is rather a prayer for increase of the number of men imbued with the Christian spirit of hopeful, helpful love, and might be paraphrased thus:

¹ Mark ix. 39.

"Father in heaven! pour out on the world the spirit of sympathy. Now that spirit is rare. In this land of Israel it is almost confined to the little company gathered around the Son of Man. We believe that Thou takest pleasure in the moral recovery of the lost, that the fortunes of the poor, the suffering, and the erring are not indifferent to Thee. In this faith we rejoice, by this faith we are impelled to seek those who have strayed, and to do good to all as we have opportunity. Let this inspiring faith, and this enthusiasm of love, prevail more and more, till all men believe in the heavenly Father, and sin and misery have been banished from the earth."

The prayer, thus interpreted as involving a hidden allusion to the prevailing inhumanity of those who passed for good, implies a new idea of holiness and throws light on the nature and extent of human depravity. True holiness, so it virtually teaches, consists in love. Negative holiness, which carefully keeps aloof from the unholy, is a counterfeit. Selfishness is the root of sin; and it reaches the lowest degree of turpitude when it is associated with religion. To be religious without love is to be at the farthest possible distance from God and true righteousness. Therefore the shepherds of Israel who pride themselves on their virtue and sanctity, and despise the sensual irreligious multitude, are more truly lost than the sheep they neglect, by reason of that very neglect.

Tested by the law of love, all men come grievously short. The term lost embraces the whole human race. All have gone astray each one in his own way and in his own measure. Selfishness is universal, and men are so accustomed to it that it hardly appears to them evil. How different was the view of Christ! In one of his most striking parables a rich man is sent, at his death, to the place of torment for no other apparent reason than because he lived in this world a selfish life, enjoying his comforts and heedless of the misery of his

fellow-mortals.¹ The epithet *πονηρὸς* in another part of His teaching is applied to the average earthly father viewed simply as one who falls short of the divine standard of charity, and allows a certain measure of selfishness to enter into his dealings with his children.² 'Ο *πονηρὸς* was His name for the Evil One, Satan ;³ yet He deemed it not too strong a term to apply to men who, while incapable of diabolic wickedness such as giving their children a stone for bread, are not always proof against the temptation to sacrifice their children's interests to their own pleasures. Nothing could more clearly show how serious was the view Jesus took of human depravity, than the application of so strong a term to a form of selfishness not uncommon.

The fact that Jesus, while acknowledging that His mission was to the whole of Israel, yet addressed Himself specially to the humbler classes, points to a policy deliberately adopted for definite reasons. These reasons were chiefly two : belief in the greater receptivity of those classes to the blessings of the kingdom, and expectation of intenser devotion to its interests. Jesus took into account the tendency of wealth, happiness, and moral respectability to hide from their possessors their true character, to fill them with self-complacent thoughts, and to make them indifferent or contemptuous towards the grace of God. Therefore He turned to those who were exposed to no such temptations, in hope to find among them less pride, prejudice, self-delusion, more insight into the truth of things, a deeper sense of the need of pardon, a hunger of the soul for righteousness worthy of the name. That such considerations influenced Him we learn from certain of His sayings. In explaining the parable of the Sower, He mentioned the deceitfulness of riches as one of the hindrances to fruitfulness.⁴ After His interview with the young ruler who inquired concerning eternal life, He

¹ Luke xvi. 19.

² Matt. xiii. 19, 29.

³ Luke xi. 13,

⁴ Matt. xiii. 22.

sadly remarked, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!"¹ He meant to express a similar feeling in reference to the "righteous" when He said, "I came not to call the righteous but sinners." On his defence for the crime of consorting with those whom the exemplary shunned, He thereby intimated to his accusers that He called "sinners" because they were more ready than the righteous to acknowledge their faults, and to welcome the good news of God's pardoning love.

That Jesus also called the sinful because He expected converts from that class to make the best citizens, we learn from the parable of the *Two Debtors* viewed in connection with its historical setting. On that occasion, also, He was on His defence for His sympathetic relations with social reprobates, and the gist of His apology was—the greater the forgiveness, the greater the love, and therefore the better the citizen, the test of good citizenship being devotion. "Which of them will love Him most?" He asked; and His host, on principles of common sense, could only reply: "I suppose that he to whom he forgave most." Then said He in effect: "That is why I have relations with such as this woman. I seek such as will love me, not with cold civility as you have done, but ardently after the manner of this penitent. Such I find not among the righteous, but among the sinners."

This policy of Jesus, to be fully understood and appreciated, must be looked at in connection with the peculiar religious condition of Jewish society in His time. Viewed in the abstract, and conceived of as applicable indiscriminately to all communities, it may appear well intended, but mistaken. One may not unnaturally ask, Is it to be inferred that had Christ lived in our day and country, He would have expected to find the best disciples among what we are accustomed, from the ecclesiastical point of view, to call the "lapsed masses," composed largely of persons who, without any breach of charity,

¹ Mark x. 23.

may be described as weeds? That they should not be neglected is of course right; that converts may be, and have been made among them, even in large numbers, cannot be denied; that a few very exceptional Christians, like Bunyan, have come from their ranks is cheerfully admitted; but surely the action of Jesus does not imply that it is the duty of the Church deliberately to turn its attention to that part of society as the most hopeful field? We do not care to answer these questions too confidently in the negative, lest our judgment should be but the superficial verdict of Pharisaism in a modern guise. We certainly believe that there are many more unpolished diamonds hidden in the churchless mass of humanity than the respectable church-going part of the community has any idea of. We also believe in an indefinite power of moral reaction even in the most depraved, though it is unhappily only too rarely exemplified. Christ has taught us to hope for wells of water springing up unto everlasting life from below the rocky surface of inveterate evil habits. Yet, withal, there is a wide difference between Britain in the nineteenth century and Judæa in our Lord's day. In the professedly religious portion of society there is far more of the salt of real righteousness, and in the outer fringe of the churchless probably less susceptibility to good influence. The strictly religious Jews in Christ's time were a comparatively small coterie. Their righteousness was, moreover, as we shall see, a thoroughly artificial system, too elaborate and too unreasonable for ordinary mortals to practise. The Pharisees stood in a relation to the populace somewhat similar to that of the monks in the Middle Ages to the laity. To the esoteric brotherhood, in both cases, the world without appeared very unholy. And there was, in truth, much licentiousness among the uninitiated; for an artificial system of morals is ever very demoralizing, not only among those who accept it as their rule of life, but among those also who refuse to be bound by it. Deeming themselves fully justified in disregarding its arbitrary

requirements, they do not stop there, but indulge in indiscriminate transgression. But the Jewish populace who knew not nor kept the precepts of the scribes, *Am Haarez*, "the people of the land," as they were contemptuously called, were by no means so bad as their self-righteous censors accounted them.¹ Among them probably were many who were not Pharisees, mainly because they were comparatively simple and unsophisticated, who were therefore not the worse but the better men because they had remained inaccessible to Pharisaic influences. Such might be open to influence of a truly wholesome kind like that which Jesus brought to bear on the "lost," and might supply the raw material out of which could be formed excellent citizens of the divine commonwealth. It was with this conviction that He devoted so much of His time and attention to them. His example is fitted to inspire a most hopeful view of the redeemableness of mankind. Apart altogether from His teaching, His public action is itself a gospel of hope, rebuking cynical despairing views of human depravity, saying to us: "Give up no man as irrecoverably lost," reminding us that much spiritual susceptibility may slumber in most unexpected quarters, and bidding us look for the most aggravated types of moral degeneracy from the divine ideal of manhood, not among the irreligious, but among the inhumanly religious.

A. B. BRUCE.

¹ According to the tradition of the scribes, the *Am Haarez*, like the Samaritan, was a person with whom no dealings should be had. They said: "Bear no witness for him, take none from him, reveal to him no secret, entrust nothing to his charge, make him not treasurer of monies for the poor, associate not with him on a journey." He was excluded from sharing in the resurrection. *Vid.* Weber, *System der altsynagogalen Palästinschen Theologie*, p. 43.

PROFESSOR DRUMMOND'S "NATURAL LAW IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD."

THE explanation of the extraordinary success of this book is not far to seek. Its literary style charms the reader with its aphoristic terseness and its perfect lucidity. The expositions of scientific facts and principles are such as we can only expect from men who are masters of the English language as well as of science. Every page of the book has stamped upon it the strongly marked individuality of the writer. The working out of the subject is strikingly original. The book is no mere echo, it has grown up in the writer's own mind, and is the genuine outcome of his own independent thinking. One of its outstanding features is its suggestiveness; no one can read its pages without being forced to think for himself.

But in addition to its literary merits, it displays a profound and delicate insight into the practical problems of the spiritual life which has given it a strong hold upon religious minds. The writer is possessed of higher gifts than theological learning or theological reasoning. He has the prophetic gift of intuition; he *sees* spiritual truths, and makes his readers feel that he sees them and can be trusted as a guide. He exercises the strange power of magnetic fascination which is only possible to a man of genius. His readers are made aware that in his company they are in a moral atmosphere it is good for them to breathe.

There is also an adventitious reason which may be adduced to account partly for the rapid popularity which the book has won. Religious people, who know what is being said by modern scientific and literary men, are somewhat alarmed at the assaults which have been made against their faith from

the side of science. They are on the outlook for a defence of their faith which no advancement in science can ever successfully assail. Mr. Drummond has seemed to them to speak the word for which they have been waiting. He is a scientist himself, ready to accept whatever discoveries science may make, and he comes forward to turn this dreaded enemy of religion into an ally. Those who have been trembling for the foundations of their faith have hailed with acclamation the new *eirenicon* between science and religion, in which science frankly accepted is believed to throw new light upon, and to add new strength to, the old truths of theology.

I propose in this paper to examine the teaching of this book in as far as it professes to establish an *eirenicon* between science and religion. The interests of religion demand that we should see whether the expectations which Mr. Drummond has raised are well founded; for if those who have taken refuge in this new theory afterwards find that they have been leaning on a broken reed, they may be thrown into despair of finding any solution of the problems raised for religion by modern science.

My purpose is a limited one. It does not lie within its scope to dwell upon the great and many merits of the book. These I recognise fully, and I rejoice in the help which Mr. Drummond's teaching has ministered to many an inquiring spirit. Knowing the rare combination of gifts with which Mr. Drummond has been endowed, I put no limit to my expectations of the brilliant work he may do in illustrating spiritual truth by science, or of the service he may render the Church of Christ in other directions, but I cannot help feeling that in *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* he has done himself injustice. He has entered on the discussion of speculative problems for which he is not fully equipped, and has thus hampered himself in the putting forth of his real strength. He is capable of doing better work than what is given us in this book.

His proposed reconciliation between science and religion seems to me to end in failure, and I venture to set forth the reasons which have forced me to come to this conclusion.

Mr. Drummond's speculations have their origin in a conviction that the spiritual world as much as the physical is under the reign of law. He believes that this truth has been little insisted upon, even where it has received recognition at all. "Is it not plain," he asks, p. ix., "that the one thing thinking men are waiting for is the introduction of law among the phenomena of the spiritual world?" Speaking for himself, he says, p. x.: "My spiritual world before was a chaos of facts; my theology, a Pythagorean system trying to make the best of phenomena apart from the idea of law. I make no charge against theology in general. I speak of my own. And I say that I saw it to be in many essential respects centuries behind every department of science I knew. It was the one region still unpossessed by law. I saw then why men of science distrust theology; why those who have learned to look upon law as authority grow cold to it—it was the great exception." His view of theology is still further revealed in the following quotations, p. 21: "It has depended on authority rather than on law; and a new basis must be sought and found if it is to be presented to those with whom law alone is authority." P. 26: "The old ground of faith, Authority, is given up; the new Science has not yet taken its place." P. 30: "What then has Science done to make theology tremble? It is its method. It is its system. It is its reign of law. It is its harmony and continuity."

I have no interest in upholding a theology which rests on external authority, be it the authority of a Church, or a creed, or a book, but I question whether theologians have been content with a chaos of phenomena without seeking for the laws by which they are governed. Their whole aim as theologians is to discover such laws. Believing that there is a spiritual world with its own peculiar phenomena, and holding as much to the reign of

law as men of science, they endeavour to find out the "constant order" which obtains amongst the phenomena of the higher sphere. A theologian like Schleiermacher would have been surprised to be told that he was "trying to make the best of [spiritual] phenomena apart from the idea of law." Though he did not set himself to unlock the secrets of the spiritual world by the principles of biology, he was not therefore reduced to base his theology on mere authority, or to leave it a chaos of phenomena without orderly relations or laws.¹ He turned to the phenomena of the religious consciousness, and by the help of observation, reasoning, history, and revelation, discovered what he believed to be the "working sequence or constant order" in the spiritual world, just as the botanist turns to the phenomena of flowers, and by observation and reasoning discovers the laws that obtain in the vegetable world. The doctrines of any theological system are just the laws which are supposed to govern the spiritual world. The doctrine of regeneration Mr. Drummond singles out in the sequel as a great spiritual law. With that example of the reign of law in theology so prominently before him, he ought to have been put on his guard against accusing theology of *lawlessness*. He may plead that such a doctrine, however vouched for by internal observation and historical experience, only deserves the name of law when it is seen to be an extension of a purely biological principle, but that affords no ground for his implied assumption that theologians have kept "thinking men waiting" for "the introduction of law among the phenomena of the spiritual world." Their laws may have been wrong interpretations of the facts, but it is laws they have been in search of. This has been the quest of metaphysicians, moralists, and theologians in every age.

¹ On p. 23 Mr. Drummond says: [The] "demand is, that all that concerns life and conduct shall be placed on a scientific basis. The only great attempt to meet that at present is Positivism." Kant, Hegel, Coleridge, Maurice, Newman, and F. W. Robertson, have surely not been less scientific than the Positivists in their treatment of "life and conduct."

But I leave this preliminary misconception and go on to a consideration of what our author believes to be his discovery, or new contribution to the vexed problem of the relation of science to religion. He has found the reign of lawlessness in the existing theology; he proposes to introduce the reign of law by extending the laws of biology into the spiritual sphere. P. 11: "The Natural Laws, as the Law of Continuity might well warn us, do not stop with the visible and then give place to a new set of Laws bearing a strong similitude to them. The Laws of the invisible are the same Laws and projections of the natural not supernatural." P. 35: "It is altogether unlikely that man spiritual should be violently separated in all the conditions of growth, development, and life, from man physical. It is indeed difficult to conceive that one set of principles should guide the natural life, and these at a certain point—the very point where they are needed—suddenly give place to another set of principles altogether new and unrelated." P. 37: "There are very convincing reasons why the Natural Laws should be continuous through the Spiritual Sphere—not changed in any way to meet the new circumstances, but continuous as they stand." Pp. 46, 47: "The conclusion finally is, that from the nature of law in general, and from the scope of the Principle of Continuity in particular, the Laws of the natural life must be those of the spiritual life. . . . If the Law of Continuity is true, the only way to escape the conclusion that the Laws of the natural life are the Laws, or at least are Laws of the spiritual life, is to say that there is no spiritual life." P. 49: "If the spiritual nature in inception, growth, and development does not follow natural principles, let the true principles be stated and explained."

I do not intend to offer any criticism on Mr. Drummond's interpretation of the law of continuity. My objection to the doctrine laid down in these quotations lies in another direction. As far as I can gather from his book, Mr. Drummond does not seem to have realized the immense gulf that separates

merely living beings from *self-conscious* beings. Until this point is cleared up, it is hopeless to estimate aright his position. He seems unaware that the gulf which separates self-conscious beings from merely living beings is even greater than that which separates the inorganic kingdom from the organic. I belong to the old-fashioned people who believe that self-consciousness exists for the first time in man; but, wherever it may appear in the chain of being, an altogether new level is reached when it is possible for this affirmation to be made, "I am I." Mr. Drummond speaks somewhat depreciatingly of philosophy, but a deeper acquaintance with the methods and results of the science of the phenomena of self-consciousness would probably have saved him from propounding the theory that the spiritual¹—and there must also be included here the intellectual and moral—phenomena of self-conscious beings are governed by the laws which regulate the merely physical life of beings destitute of self-consciousness. Of course the laws of biology apply to man's physical life, just as the laws of chemistry and mathematics have an application in a descendingly lower degree. But when self-consciousness is reached, new laws come in, for an absolutely new kind of life has been reached. Mr. Drummond says, p. 43: "The biological laws are continuous for life." Yes, they are applicable to the physical life of man, but the life of self-consciousness is a totally different thing. It is strange that a quotation Mr. Drummond makes from Mr. Hutton did not lead him to recognise the distinction between the life of merely living beings—physical life—with which biology deals, and the life of self-consciousness with which philosophy deals. P. 21: "Any attempt to merge the distinctive characteristics of a higher science in a lower—of chemical changes in mechanical—of physiological in chemical—*above all, of mental changes in*

¹ The word "spiritual" is often applied to the intellectual, moral, and religious life of man as opposed to his physical. Mr. Drummond applies it only to his religious life.

*physiological*¹—is a neglect of the radical assumption of all science."

I do not overlook the fact that it is the religious (or, in the narrow sense of the word, the spiritual) life Mr. Drummond has in view when he speaks of the extension of the biological laws to the spiritual world. But he cannot well avoid (nor would he, I imagine, seek to avoid) the conclusion that the biological laws govern the phenomena of the life of self-consciousness generally. Let us then test his theory. It is a law of this inner world that in all knowledge or experience there is a reference to a self or ego. Of what biological law is this the extension? There are certain well-known laws of association,—*e.g.* "Present actions, sensations, thoughts, or emotions tend to revive their like among previously recurring states."² Of what biological law is this an extension? Take the laws of memory, imagination, and reasoning—of what biological laws are these the extension?³

In man there is introduced in addition to self-consciousness (if we do not include it in self-consciousness) another element which makes it hopeless to explain his higher nature on biological principles—I mean freewill. Unconscious living beings have their development determined for them, man to a large extent determines his own development. The introduction of this element marks a greater advance upon

¹ The italics are mine.

² Bain's *Mental and Moral Science*, p. 127.

³ Mr. Drummond himself appears to be aware that there is something in man outside the scope of the biological laws. "The application of natural law to the spiritual world has decided and necessary limits," p. xvi. "This does not exclude, observe, the possibility of there being new laws in addition within the natural sphere," p. 46. "That there are higher energies, so to speak, in the spiritual world, is of course to be affirmed," p. 48. "We have not denied that there may be new laws," p. 49. But these admissions lead to nothing. After making them, the writer makes this remark, p. 51: "It is clear that we can only express the spiritual laws in language borrowed from the visible universe. Being dependent for our vocabulary on images, if an altogether new and foreign set of laws existed in the spiritual world, they could never take shape as definite ideas from mere want of words." From what image in the visible universe does the idea of self-consciousness come?

creatures ruled solely according to biological laws than the advance from the inorganic to the organic kingdom; and as the chemical and other lower laws are insufficient to explain vegetables and animals, so the biological laws are insufficient to explain beings endowed with freewill. Biological laws are not transgressed, higher laws control them. This is the meaning of the misunderstood quotation from Bushnell, p. 13: "God has, in fact, erected another and higher system, that of spiritual being and government for which nature exists; a system not under the law of cause and effect, but ruled and marshalled under other kinds of laws." Bushnell does not deny the reign of law, as Mr. Drummond supposes. His teaching in these words simply amounts to this, that beings who are themselves causes, who determine to a large extent their own development, must be ruled by higher laws than beings which have their development determined for them by the operation of the ordinary law of cause and effect.

Let me ask, Can the laws of biology explain to me the facts of my moral nature? The consciousness of being under the authority of the categorical imperative, the power of choosing the right and shunning the wrong, the sense of responsibility to a lawgiver, the feeling of remorse—are these phenomena better explained by Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Biology* than by an Augustine, a Schleiermacher, or a Newman, whose theology is assumed to be vitiated by the non-recognition of law in the spiritual world? Theologians have wisely refrained from attempting to explain man's moral nature without taking into account freewill and the new laws to which it gives rise. Such an explanation would be another example of the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out.

This ignoring by Mr. Drummond of the fundamental distinction between beings destitute of freewill and beings possessed of freewill, has affected his treatment of several

questions he discusses. Once, indeed, the distinction rises clearly before him, only, however, to be practically set aside. P. 304: "It must occur to one on reaching this point, that a new element here comes in which compels us, for the moment, to part company with zoology. That element is the conscious power of choice. The animal in following the type is blind." Mr. Drummond sees that a Christian with an ideal before him, and a power to conform to it, is in a different position from a bird that is being unconsciously conformed to its type by a power outside of itself. Yet he is led astray by his determination to apply biological laws where they are inapplicable, and we find him leaving his truer point of sight and asking, p. 307: "Can the protoplasm *conform itself* to its type? Can the embryo *fashion itself*? Is conformity to type produced by the matter *or by the life*, by the protoplasm or by the type? . . . Conformity to type, therefore, is secured by the type."

In his chapter on Environment, Mr. Drummond says, p. 254: "These two factors [heredity and environment] are responsible for making all living organisms what they are. When a naturalist attempts to unfold the life-history of any animal, he proceeds precisely on these same lines. Biography is really a branch of natural history; and the biographer who discusses his hero as the resultant of these two tendencies, follows the scientific method as rigidly as Mr. Darwin in studying 'Animals and Plants under Domestication.'" There is much truth in all that is said about heredity and environment. Only in representing the life of a hero as the resultant of these two tendencies Mr. Drummond omits an element more important than either—the power the hero possesses to "regulate" or "make" his environment. He recognises the existence of this element in a passing phrase. Had he pondered more fully the significance of this element, it might have occurred to him that beings who have the power of making their own environment are not altogether under the

sway of those biological laws which regulate the development of beings whose environment is made for them.

In his chapter on Growth—in my estimation the most beautiful chapter in the book—he says, p. 127: “The soul grows as the lily grows, without trying, without fretting, without ever thinking.” A statement like that does no harm as part of a popular exposition: its very exaggeration may the better teach the lesson of the necessity of resting from over-anxiety in the spiritual life. But then the statement must be considered in the light of Mr. Drummond’s theory that the biological laws of development are not merely analogous to, but absolutely identical with, the laws according to which spiritual development is regulated. Such a theory simply passes over the very gist of the problem of spiritual growth. The plant cannot choose its conditions, cannot choose to let the conditions influence it, but the man has, to some extent, to choose his conditions, or at least has to choose how he will let them influence him. Once you have allowed for this power of choice,—this self-determining power of the conscious person who stands under the authority of moral law,—you may trace analogies between biological growth and spiritual, but then this self-determining power is the prime element in the problem. It is *I* who have to put myself into relation with the conditions of growth. If that consideration is neglected, we have, as I have said, the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out.

In what I have said about self-consciousness and freewill I have been trying to put a barrier to Mr. Drummond’s theory *in limine*. I will complete my consideration of his theory by examining whether he has succeeded in throwing any light upon the problems of the spiritual world by the application of the laws of biology, for speculative objections would go to the wall if it were proved that these laws were actually the laws of spiritual life.

Mr. Drummond evidently looks upon his theory as specially

valuable in giving a proof from the side of science for the doctrine of regeneration, and possibly many of his readers have been attracted by his speculations for a similar reason. If his theory really gives an irrefragable (a scientifically irrefragable) proof of this doctrine, it will be necessary to reconsider the *à priori* objections I have stated; but if it leaves this doctrine where it found it, then I shall have the more confidence that these objections are valid.

Let us then examine what Mr. Drummond has to say about biogenesis. After referring to the failure of modern science to overturn the old dictum—*omne vivum ex vivo*, he says, p. 64: "Two great schools here also (in religion) have defended exactly opposite views—one, that the Spiritual Life in man can only come from pre-existing Life; the other, that it can Spontaneously Generate itself. . . . One small school has persistently maintained the doctrine of Biogenesis. Another, larger and with greater pretension to philosophic form, has defended Spontaneous Generation." P. 65: "[The spiritual man] is a New Creation born from Above. As well expect a hay infusion to become gradually more and more living until in course of the process it reached Vitality, as expect a man by becoming better and better to attain the Eternal Life." P. 74: "Life, that is to say, depends upon contact with Life. It cannot spring up of itself. There is no Spontaneous Generation in religion any more than in Nature. Christ is the source of Life in the Spiritual World." P. 93: "A new theology has laughed at the Doctrine of Conversion. Sudden Conversion especially has been ridiculed as untrue to philosophy and impossible to human nature. . . . But we find that this old theology is scientific." P. 71: "The passage from the Natural World to the Spiritual World is hermetically sealed on the natural side. The door from the inorganic to the organic is shut, no mineral can open it; so the door from the natural to the spiritual is shut, and no man can open it."

Lest my criticism of these extracts should be misunderstood, I wish to say at the outset that I am at one with Mr. Drummond in believing that life can only come from above—from the Lord of life. Not only do I believe that God “reserved a point at the genesis of life for His direct appearing,” but that He works immanently in every living creature throughout its whole life. Not only do I believe that the life of Christ in the soul comes from, and is continually sustained by the Spirit of God, but also that every action of the intellectual life, every inspiration of genius, every upward effort, every aspiration after righteousness—all that Mr. Drummond designates as mere morality—has its origin in that Eternal Word by whom all things were made.

So much by way of preliminary explanation. What support then does the doctrine of regeneration derive from modern biological science? Tyndall and Huxley confess that as far as the evidence yet goes, the old dictum holds, *omne vivum ex vivo*. What do they mean? Do they mean that life when it first appeared had its origin in God, the Lord of life? No, they simply mean that every living creature has been produced by an antecedent living creature of the same kind. If they are pushed back to the absolutely first appearance of life, they will say that its appearance is a mystery about which they can give no explanation. They will refuse to say that it comes from God or from a great principle of life distinct from the universe.

Mr. Drummond gives an unwarrantable meaning to the old phrase *omne vivum ex vivo*. He makes it mean that life at its first genesis in the universe had its origin in God—a meaning which would be utterly disclaimed by Tyndall and Huxley. Any conclusion built on such an interpretation of the phrase is resting in the air, but it is on this interpretation that Mr. Drummond's speculations on spiritual biogenesis are built. It is true that life at its genesis comes from the Lord

of life, but this conclusion is guaranteed not by the modern biology of Huxley and Spencer, but by philosophy.

Omne vivum ex vivo (as I have already said) means for the modern biologists whom Mr. Drummond quotes, that every living creature has been produced by an antecedent living creature. If Mr. Drummond wishes to give the phrase another meaning, he must leave modern biology, and in leaving biology he has to give up his theory that the laws of the natural life are also the laws of the spiritual life.

Is Mr. Drummond prepared to apply the biological law, *omne vivum ex vivo*, as modern biologists interpret it, to the spiritual world? I imagine not. Such conclusions as these would follow from its application—that every spiritual man has been produced by an antecedent spiritual man, that the children of spiritual parents are necessarily by the fact of their birth spiritual,¹ that the point where the direct action of God set the process of spiritual life agoing cannot now be discovered, and that for anything we know there may be no supernatural cause of spiritual life at all.²

Mr. Drummond appeals to biological science in favour of the doctrine of conversion. Biological science declares (according to Mr. Drummond himself) that dead matter has never been known to issue in life. If, then, that law is absolute, dead souls can never rise into spiritual life. "As well expect

¹ In his chapter on Environment, Mr. Drummond attempts to show that the biological law of environment is a law of the spiritual life. If the law of continuity is not to be violated (to turn his own argument against himself), how can he escape from the conclusion that the law of heredity, which he mentions along with that of environment as accounting for development, is also a law of the spiritual life?

² If, in his chapter on Biogenesis, Mr. Drummond only means to show, by way of illustration, that as dead matter cannot of itself give rise to life, an unregenerate man cannot make himself spiritually alive, my criticism may appear to interpret him unwarrantably *au pied de la lettre*. But then, if this is all that he means to maintain, what becomes of his contention that the biological laws are the laws of the spiritual life? This is the assumption that underlies his teaching in the chapter on Biogenesis, and it is in view of this assumption that I have shaped my criticism.

a hay infusion to become gradually more and more living, until, in course of the process, it reached vitality, as expect a man dead in trespasses and sins to become spiritually alive." Biology, if it had any right (as it has not) to pronounce an opinion on the subject, would force us to the conclusion that no man has a chance of gaining spiritual life unless he has received it from his parents, any more than an infusion of hay has a chance of developing physical life. As far as the doctrine of conversion is concerned, there would really have been more support for it in biology if the theory of spontaneous generation could have been proved.

Modern biology has, after all, little light to throw upon the doctrines of regeneration and conversion. The supposed enemy of religion has not turned out to be its friend, at least as far as this new theory is concerned.

I am tempted to linger a little longer over Mr. Drummond's teaching upon biogenesis, though my main criticism upon its relation to his general theory of the identity of the biological and spiritual laws has been given.

He departs somewhat from ordinarily accepted teaching in his views upon spiritual biogenesis, but this departure is, in my opinion, a departure from true doctrine. His account of the "natural man" seems to me to be overdrawn, and the Scripture expressions — figurative expressions — which are quoted to substantiate this account are pressed upon the reader with an unwarrantable adherence to the mere letter. If he had been drawing a contrast between man in his physical life and man in the life of self-consciousness, intelligence, and spiritual freedom, I should have had little objection to make to his statements, but this is not the contrast he has in view. He is contrasting a natural man, who has attained moral beauty, and a man who is definitely laid hold of by the life of Christ. Between two such men he teaches us that there is a greater gulf than between the inorganic world and the organic. But I must quote some sentences. P. 380: "What is the essen-

tial difference between the Christian and the not-a-Christian, between the spiritual beauty and the moral beauty? It is the distinction between the Organic and the Inorganic." P. 375: "In scarcely a single instance is the gravity of the distinction more than dimly apprehended." P. 382: "Man is a moral animal, and can and ought to arrive at great natural beauty of character. But this is simply to obey the law of his nature—the law of his flesh." P. 383: "His morality is mere crystallization." P. 397: "Two Kingdoms at the present time are known to Science—the Inorganic and the Organic. It (spiritual life) does not belong to the Inorganic Kingdom, because it lives. It does not belong to the Organic Kingdom, because it is endowed with a kind of Life infinitely removed from either the vegetal or animal. There being no Kingdom known to science which can contain it, we must construct one—that Kingdom is the *Kingdom of God*." P. 299: "However active the intellectual or moral life may be, from the point of view of this other life it is dead." P. 82: "Compared with the difference between the Natural and the Spiritual, the gulf which divides the organic from the inorganic is a hair's-breadth." ¹

The doctrine contained in these extracts seems to me to be true to the teaching neither of experience nor of Scripture. I, of course, admit the gulf that separates man in his physical nature from man in his spiritual, and I admit the gulf that separates a man whose morality is founded on mere habit or self-interest from the man whose morality springs from spiritual life, but I would hesitate to say that spiritual life had nothing to do with "moral beauty," "moral uprightness," and "honourableness." Moreover, if the natural man were as completely dead to the spiritual world as a stone is to the organic world,

¹ Mr. Drummond evidently reckons an agnostic like Herbert Spencer, or a positivist like Frederick Harrison, amongst the natural men. Then there is less difference between a jelly fish and Frederick Harrison than between Frederick Harrison and the lowest type of the spiritual man. Mr. Drummond would probably not shrink from saying so.

if he were as "hermetically sealed" from the spiritual world as a stone is from the organic, to use Mr. Drummond's own phrase, I can no longer see any ground upon which I can appeal to him on behalf of the spiritual world. He is dead to it, cannot understand what passes there, can have no conceivable interest in it. I must let him alone till this spiritual life has somehow got hold of him.¹

But the natural man is not dead in that sense. He has capacities for living in the spiritual world. He has aspirations towards it. He knows something about it. He is dead only figuratively, as Mr. Drummond in other parts of his book has to admit. His whole chapter on degeneration is one continued refutation of his theory that the natural man is as dead to the spiritual world as a stone is to the organic. If the natural man has no spiritual life, how can it be taken from him? P. 110: "Degeneration in the spiritual sphere involves primarily the impairing of the faculties of salvation, and ultimately the loss of them. It really means that the very soul itself becomes piecemeal destroyed until the very capacity for God and righteousness is gone." P. 108: "God has discovered to us another principle which will stop this drifting process in the soul, steer it round, and make it drift the other way. This is the active saving principle, or salvation." Now what corresponds to all this in the stone? Is there an active principle drawing it into the organic kingdom which it can lay hold of and so enter, or which it can neglect and so sink back into the inorganic kingdom? Again, in the chapter on Semi-parasitism, Mr. Drummond says, p. 336: "One by one the spiritual faculties droop and die, one by one from lack of exercise

¹ In comparing the new birth to the passage from the inorganic to the organic kingdom, Mr. Drummond overlooks the fact that the "natural man," whatever influence the Spirit of God may exercise, has himself to make the passage. His freewill is a necessary element in regeneration.

To have a proper analogy for the passage of a soul from spiritual death to life, Mr. Drummond should have been able to point to a stone suddenly turning into a vegetable or an animal.

the muscles of the soul grow weak and flaccid, one by one the moral activities cease. So from him that hath not is taken away that which he hath, and after a few years of parasitism there is nothing left to save." If all this can go on in the natural man, surely he is not as hermetically sealed from the spiritual world as the stone is from the organic.

But leaving this question of the origin of spiritual life, let us see whether Mr. Drummond is more successful elsewhere in buttressing the Christian faith by the help of biology. He believes that from the side of biology he can strengthen the proof for the doctrine of immortality, or I should rather say, that believing the ordinary philosophical proofs to be nearly valueless, he substitutes in their place a new biological proof. P. 239 : "The question of a Future Life is a biological question. . . . The whole confusion around the doctrine of Eternal Life has arisen from making it a question of Philosophy. . . . For any question as to the soul's Life, we must appeal to Life-science." P. 226 : "The theory of Christianity has only to be fairly stated to make manifest its thorough independence of all the usual speculations on Immortality. The theory is not that thought, volition, or emotion as such are to survive the grave. The difficulty of holding a doctrine in this form, in spite of what has been advanced to the contrary, in spite of the hopes and wishes of mankind, in spite of all the scientific and philosophical attempts to make it tenable, is still profound." In his criticism of philosophical speculations on immortality, Mr. Drummond sails dangerously near materialism,¹ and it will be found on examination that his own speculations are weighted with a profounder "difficulty"

¹ "Emotion, volition, thought itself, are functions of the brain." Mr. Drummond does not absolutely adopt that opinion, but he shows little appreciation of what its truth would involve. If volition and thought are functions of the brain, then there is no possibility of escaping the conclusion that the religious experience of communion with God is a "function of the brain," and that it "ceases with the dissolution of the material fabric."

than those of the philosophers. His speculations are based on a quotation from Herbert Spencer about the nature of a biologically perfect life. P. 215 : "Uninterrupted correspondence with Environment is Eternal Life according to science. 'This is Life Eternal,' said Christ, 'that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.' . . . To correspond with God is to correspond with a Perfect Environment." Pp. 228-9 : "Now that which determines the correspondence of the spiritual organism [with the perfect environment God] is a Principle of Spiritual Life . . . With the new Spirit, the filial correspondence, he (the spiritual man) knows the Father, and this is Life Eternal." P. 230 : "Here at last is a correspondence which will never cease. Its powers in bridging the grave have been tried. . . . In short, this is a correspondence which at once satisfies the demands of science and religion. . . . Here is a relation established with Eternity. The passing years lay no limiting hand on it. Corruption injures it not. It survives death. It, and it only, will stretch beyond the grave and be found inviolate,—

' When the moon is old,
And the stars are cold,
And the books of the judgment day unfold.' "

The reader naturally imagines when he comes to this passage that he is being presented with a new proof for the existence of a future life, and the writer himself seems for the moment to be of the same opinion. Yet what does this whole chapter amount to? It is simply an answer to the question, p. 205 : "Is the Christian conception of eternal life scientific?" or (for this is the real meaning of Mr. Drummond's question) is the idea of eternal life conceivable? Mr. Drummond must be admitted to have established that it is conceivable—but then no one will seriously dispute the question with him. There was no need of Herbert Spencer's definitions of life and perfect life to make out that the idea

of one in whom the life of Christ exists being in perfect correspondence with a perfect environment God, can be entertained as an idea. This is not the burning question about the future life. It is rather this, Is such an eternal life possible not only in conception, but in fact? Mr. Drummond has once at least this distinction before his mind, p. 221: "And yet we are still a great way off, —to establish a communication with the Eternal is not to secure Eternal Life. It must be assumed that the communication could be sustained.¹ And to assume this would be to try the question. So that we have still to prove Eternal Life. But let it be again repeated, we are not here seeking proofs. We are seeking light. We are merely reconnoitring from the farthest promontory of science, if so be that through the haze we may discern the outline of a distant coast and come to some conclusion as to the possibility of landing."

In spite of all the hopes Mr. Drummond excites in this chapter, he proves only what needed no proof, that eternal life is thinkable; for what needs proof, that eternal life will be a fact, he has no argument whatever to offer.² He gives us absolutely no ground from the side of science or speculation for warding off the belief that even the spiritual life will "cease with the dissolution of the material fabric," that the "changes in the physical state of the environment" will bring death to the spiritual man as well as to the natural. He has stripped from us the arguments, metaphysical and ethical, on which we have been wont to rely, and sent

¹ Here again there may be ambiguity. Before eternal life is proved, it must be proved that the sustaining of this communication is possible not only in conception but in fact. I am not quite sure whether Mr. Drummond refers here to possibility in fact or possibility in conception.

² On p. 234 he refers to the historical fact of Christ's resurrection as the true argument for Christian immortality. But, of course, that is not an argument from biological science which he undertook to supply. That short paragraph of six lines, where he refers to the resurrection, contains more proof than all the rest of the chapter.

us forth naked to shiver in the wintry atmosphere of materialism.¹

I might go further with my criticism of Mr. Drummond's attempts to find new proofs for the doctrines of theology in biological science, but this would unduly extend my paper.

The real value of this book lies not in his attempted proof of the theory that the laws of natural life are the laws of spiritual life, but in its "freshening of the theological air with natural facts and illustrations." The author thinks otherwise. He considers that his work has been of an altogether different kind than that of drawing analogies. But what really does he give us in most of his chapters but original and beautiful analogies? He attempts to make out a distinction between his own work in this book and what has previously been done by those who have drawn upon the outward world for analogies with the spiritual, by distinguishing analogies of phenomena and analogies of law. P. viii: "It was not, I repeat, that new and detailed analogies of *phenomena*² rose into view." P. ix: "That the phenomena of the spiritual world are in analogy with the phenomena of the natural world requires no restatement." His advances consist, he believes, in pointing out analogies between the *laws*—not merely the *phenomena*—of the natural world and the spiritual, or rather in pointing out the identity of these laws. I say nothing on the many questions that might be raised in connection with Mr. Drummond's use of the words "law," "analogy," "phenomenon." I content myself with pointing out that whatever he may have thought he was doing, and whatever meaning he may have had in

¹ Of course I do not mean for a moment to imply that Mr. Drummond has any sympathy with materialism. I only mean that his reasoning, when pressed to its logical outcome, lands him in dangerous company.

² There can be no phenomenon into the constitution of which there do not enter orderly relations or laws. It is impossible to make a sharp distinction between analogies of phenomena and analogies of laws. A distinction can be drawn between laws which have a limited application and laws which have a wide application.

his mind in drawing the distinction between analogies of phenomena and analogies of laws, he has certainly got no farther in his book than drawing analogies. In his chapter on Growth, he does not prove that the law of biological is the law of spiritual development, he only proves that there are analogies between the two kinds of development. There can be no identity while the spiritual man has the power of choosing what conditions of growth he will allow to influence him. Nor in his chapters (*e.g.*) on Environment and Conformity to Type does he accomplish anything essentially different from what is done by any man who takes a parable from nature. He may develop the illustration more fully than is usually done by writers who "freshen the theological air with natural facts and illustrations." But that is really the only difference. In his admirable chapter on Semi-parasitism, he thus enunciates the spiritual principle for the illustration of which he appeals to the biological world: "Any principle which secures the safety of the individual without personal effort or the vital exercise of faculty is disastrous to moral character." I am not sure that even Mr. Drummond would contend that there is more than "analogy" between this spiritual principle and what he finds in the hermit crab, or that he is doing anything essentially different from what Dr. Bushnell has done in his chapter in *The New Life*, entitled "The Capacity of Religion extirpated by disuse." If he should contend for identity, then at once he is confronted with questions he will find it difficult to answer satisfactorily. How could there be identity when account must be taken of such words as these, "safety," "personal effort," "moral character"?

Though Mr. Drummond has failed in effecting a new reconciliation of science and religion by means of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, his book gives splendid promise of future work. The discussion of the philosophical questions involved in any attempt at such a reconciliation is not

in the line of his real strength. These speculative problems are certain to bring out the weak side of his thinking. Outside of that region he may be looked to for work that will prove him to be one of the most fascinating and suggestive religious teachers of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

D. M. ROSS.

ON MALACHI I. 11.

THE INVISIBLE CHURCH IN HEBREW PROPHECY.

FEW subjects are more important than the study of the way in which the Divine Word has enlightened the nations beyond the reach of the Biblical revelation. In the book of the last Old Testament prophet we find a unique statement fitted to deepen our interest and animate us with a stronger hope of great discoveries. I know that Dr. Kuenen's interpretation of Mal. i. 11, in his *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 181, has given offence to some orthodox readers. He says that "the reference is distinctly to the adoration already offered to Yahveh (Jehovah) by the peoples, whenever they serve their own gods with true reverence and honest zeal." This is supposed to imply an adhesion to the view so prevalent among educated Brahmins, that all forms of religion are equally good, or, as they say themselves, "He is One; the difference is only in the name." I do not think this can be the lecturer's implication, as it leaves out of sight the historical differences between religions. But in any case Dr. Kuenen's interpretation of Mal. i. 11, which is also in substance that of Theodore of Mopsuestia, is the only tenable one. The connection requires us to alter the "shall be," which occurs thrice in Authorized Version, into "is." Jehovah has no pleasure in the priests of the Jews nor in their offerings (ver. 10). In fact, the true God is, however ignorantly, worshipped by the nations whom the Jews look down upon as "unclean:"—"all the earth doth worship Thee, the Father everlasting." Their sacrifices may be of a less deep spiritual import than those of the Mosaic law, but

they are the best which the worshippers can bring, and are offered with a "pure" or sincere heart (ver. 11). Then follows the antithesis. Israel's unworthy priests profane the name of Jehovah, and reduce Him to the rank which *they* suppose to belong to the gods of the heathen; instead of demanding the best animals for sacrifice, they encourage the people to bring the worst (vers. 12, 13). Meantime, as the prophet repeats, the heathen have a genuine moral fear of the divinity whom they ignorantly worship, and their fear is accepted by Him to whom it belongs, even Jehovah (ver. 14).

There is much that is obscure in the circumstances to which Malachi refers. We might be at first tempted to imagine that there was a movement among the priests unfavourable to animal sacrifices (עֹלֹת in i. 7 is a vague term, comp. ver. 12). But the true motive of their ritual carelessness must rather be sought in the concluding words of chap. ii.: "(By your saying) Where is the God of judgment?" At another period, the apparent "distance" of Jehovah made the people all the more eager about the externals of religion (Isa. lviii. 2); now His supposed weakness seems to have made the priests careless about His service; as soon as the promised "judgment" came, they would be as zealous as ever for the sacrificial rites. What a coarse, crude view of religion! Let us pass it by, and return to the lofty conception or intuition ("vision") of the prophet Malachi.

The connection of his utterance has been explained. The priests are not to think that Jehovah is benefited by their zeal (Ps. l. 12, 13) or injured by their carelessness, somewhat like Milton's words:—

. . . "Nor think, though men were none,
That heav'n would want spectators, God want praise."

Israel is not God's only son (Spinoza, in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, has rightly noticed this implication). In

spite of the truth that Israel has been specially "created" by his Divine Father (ii. 10), he is only one among many brethren (Jer. iii. 19). He is the "first-born son" of Jehovah, and, alas! presents too much resemblance to the elder brother in the parable of the Prodigal Son. He does not understand that the Spirit of holiness breathes where He will and how He will. But "does a father mind," as Max Müller beautifully asks, "by what strange name his child may call him, when he is for the first time trying to call him by any name? . . . And if one child calls us by one name, and another by another, do we blame him?" Only it is quite certain that even Malachi, though far in advance of him whom I must call the First Isaiah, would earnestly fight for the speciality of Israel's revelation. There were germs and potentialities in the religions of Egypt, Assyria, and especially of Persia, but no more. He would have agreed with St. Paul that the heathen too often, *not always*, failed to "glorify Him as God," *i.e.* in accordance with His true essence, and, with the speech assigned to the same apostle in the Book of Acts, that all the nations but Israel worshipped a God whom they knew but dimly (Acts xvii. 23). Conscious, full "salvation" is "of the Jews" (John iv. 22). Still my expression "too often, *not always*, failed" is agreeable both to the intuitions of Malachi and to those of (may I be allowed the title?) the Second Isaiah. The latter prophet says, or represents Jehovah as saying, "I have stirred up one from the north, and he is come; from the rising of the sun one who calleth upon my name" (Isa. xli. 25), though Cyrus himself only knew God as Ahura-mazda. May I not add, that the strange Hebrew idiom by which Elohim, a plural noun, is combined with a singular verb, points in the direction of the truth revealed to Malachi? It indicates at least that all possible intuitions respecting the divine nature are but fragments of the truth of God revealed to Israel.

T. K. CHEYNE.

THE LITERARY RECORD.

THIS work¹ is of peculiar value to the theological student from the vast mass of information it contains on the literature of the New Testament. It consists of 600 paragraphs in leading type, in which the history is traced in outline; the literary details are added under each in smaller type. Book I. deals with the origin of the New Testament writings; Book II. with the history of the Canon; Book III. with the history of the text, or the preservation of the New Testament writings; Book IV. with the history of the versions, or the circulation of the New Testament; Book V. with the history of exegesis. Dr. Reuss has treated the subject from the historical and scientific standpoint as distinguished from the apologetic or polemical. Hence the usefulness of the book to those who want to know what has been thought and written in the scholarly world from various sides. But the author's own modest preface (1874) explains his purpose: "The form into which I have cast the material is one that is appropriate to the idea of the science. I have cited the material more fully than has been done elsewhere. More than one series of events, closely connected with the history of the Bible, is here introduced, for which one seeks in vain in the other most widely circulated works of this kind." It seems a witness to the fairness of Dr. Reuss' treatment that he fails to satisfy extreme men, whether of the Conservative or of the Radical party on Biblical criticism. "If I express a doubt with reference to a tradition, be it never so ill founded, the Conservatives miss in the would-be historian the indispensable quality of 'objectivity.' If I am unable, doubtless from natural lack of acuteness, to discover the fine seams by which, it is said, a supposed apostolic writing betrays itself as a piece of patchwork by several hands, the critics have ready the neat epithet of 'petty apologist,' by which the matter is settled at once." Under these circumstances Dr. Reuss claims only for his book a modest place and a temporary usefulness until in a future generation the science be placed in a completed form before the world.

The translator is to be thanked for his careful rendering of the original, and for the additions to the bibliography (from English and American literature), also to the index.

¹ *History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament.* By E. Reuss. Translated from the fifth German edition, with numerous Bibliographical Additions, by Edward L. Houghton, A.M. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1884. Pp. vi. 639.

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[Continued on page 8.]

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THE publication of the Revised New Testament in 1881 has familiarized the community with many things about revision, so that they no longer need to be explained. It is enough to say that the body of revisers called into existence by resolutions and other action of the Convocation of Canterbury in February and May 1870, proceeded to their labours in two separate companies, the one for the Greek New Testament, and the other for the Hebrew Old Testament. The prefaces issued by these independent revisers explain the principles on which they were to act, and even many of the particulars in their practical application.

Our work has been a revision, and not an entirely new translation, and this circumstance sufficiently explains how we have disappointed some who wished that we should act with all the freedom of those who strike out a new path for themselves, whilst at the same time we are blamed by others who think that our revision has been too bold. We had to judge for ourselves. No doubt we might have taken the course which approved itself to the German revisers, who have issued a "Probe-Bibel," or experimental revision, and who mean to return to their task, and give the final shape to their revision after they have had the advantage of criticism from the outside. But various reasons will occur to many as sufficiently explaining why this course was not adopted. It is to be recollected also that there never has been any revision of the German Bible, in the sense in which we use the word, since Luther gave his translation to the world in the very beginning of the Reformation; whereas the English Bible was revised

over and over again from the time of the Reformer William Tyndale down to 1611 ; and our work has been simply a return to the traditions of the best times of English Protestantism, enriched by the union of the scholarship in this old country of ours with that in the United States of America.

It would be a grievous error to suppose that the demand for thoroughgoing remodelling has come from the United States, and that the cautious resistance to this has come from Britain ; as great a mistake as it would be to look for lines of division in the different ecclesiastical connections of the revisers. On this latter point I can testify that no such lines of division ever appeared in the Old Testament Company ; that Englishman and Scotchman, Churchman and Dissenter, were unknown as such ; and that there were the most abundant evidences of absence of all intention to divide systematically. In so far as any lines of cleavage could be traced, it was due to individual character, and to convictions on certain classes of subjects. And thus, if there came to be recognised the probability that some members would vote together on some question that came up (not of a dogmatic kind, for this was as near as possible unknown among us, nor with reference to *critical* questions about the age and authorship of books, for these were not discussed by us), these same persons might be found at disagreement in reference to the very next question on which a vote was taken, because a new class of considerations intervened which led to our being grouped in an entirely different manner. The absence of party spirit, the continual good feeling, if I should not rather call it brotherly affection, which marked our proceedings, the honest and unvarying desire to do what was right, to value one another's contributions to the elucidation of our subject, and to criticise one another's views and arguments with the utmost frankness just because of our mutual confidence and regard, will be a source of lifelong gratitude to our God and Saviour, I am persuaded, on the part of all of us, so often as we look back on fourteen years of

common labour upon His Word, a considerable part of it in one another's company. And without giving other reasons, or trenching on the merits of the living, I may safely say that our obligations were unspeakable to the venerable chairman under whom we commenced our work, Bishop Thirlwall. If any of us sometimes felt a slight stirring of impatience, and a wish that he would let us proceed more rapidly, I believe we all came to feel the influence of his wise, calm, reverent spirit, and are persuaded that his firmness and courtesy moulded our characters, guided us in forming the habits by which we were best fitted for shaping our opinions, and prevented us from wasting time in irrelevant talk or disorderly proceedings. He would have been a bold and a powerful man who could have gone far astray during Thirlwall's chairmanship.

But as some very conservative critics have appeared in England, some very radical ones have no doubt appeared in America. A man so able as Dr. Charles A. Briggs, one of the editors of the *Presbyterian Review*, says in the January number of that quarterly, p. 149, when noticing Dr. Cheyne's *Book of Psalms*, and Professor De Witt's *Praise-songs of Israel*, that these and other translators "could not wait for the appearance of the version of the Revision Company which has been promised in 1885. Indeed, Professor De Witt, one of the American revisers, frankly tells us: 'The revisers have been constantly reminded that they are not independent translators; and changes that would otherwise be immediately adopted must often be ruled out in favour of the less accurate rendering that has the ground, unless the latter were decidedly misleading.' In other words, the revised version of the Psalms, soon to appear from the press, will not only be a compromise among the translators themselves, but also a compromise with popular prejudice, in order to secure it speedy general acceptance. We are not surprised, therefore, that Professor De Witt and Dr. Cheyne should decline to wait for the revision, and hasten to present their translations to the

public." This is a perfectly intelligible position to take up, but it is one which the instructions put into our hand when we received our commission forbade us to assume. The Massoretic Hebrew text, that is, the text of the Old Testament handed down to us by the Jewish tradition (not indeed so *perfectly* known to us as it will be in virtue of the great work of one of our number, Dr. Ginsburg), is the one which we felt constrained to use, as the revisers of 1611 did. They departed from it only in very rare cases indeed; and we have been almost as chary of doing so as they were. It is, I think, by inadvertence that Dr. Briggs has written: "It is manifest to Hebrew scholars that we can no more rely with childlike confidence upon the common Massoretic text for the Old Testament than we can upon the so-called received text of the New Testament. The New Testament revisers abandoned the received text of the New Testament for a better text. If the present revisers have not sought a better text of the Old Testament, in our judgment they have failed in their duty, and their work will not be accepted." This is no place to speak of "childlike confidence;" if this be his feeling towards the New Testament revised text, his faith is admirable. But the so-called received text of the New Testament was the work of a few learned men upon a volume in a language understood by very few, for about a century from the time of Erasmus: whereas the Massoretic received text of the Old Testament was the work of Jewish scholars, going back continuously, so far as we know, at all events till near the time of Christ, perhaps to two or three centuries before Christ came, upon a volume in their own mother-tongue, which thousands of their people could repeat as accurately as Mohammedans repeat the Koran. It is true, also, that we have acted as a body of trustees act in making investments, with a caution which they might not think necessary in acting individually. Many of the revisers, besides the two named by Dr. Briggs, have published something on the books of Scripture which they



revised, and yet they have shown a wise and becoming reserve when preparing an English version of the Bible which they hoped might be fit for the use of congregations generally throughout the English-speaking portion of the universal Church. Dr. Cheyne's volume on the Psalms is delightful and instructive, and even those who are least prepared to accept his many emendations may still acknowledge that they are scholarly and interesting: but as his fellow-revisers would certainly not have been at one in accepting them, it would have been madness to introduce them into a volume which we desire to see accepted by the Church at large. Dr. Briggs also prefaces the words I have quoted by the very just statement, "The textual criticism of the Old Testament is indeed in its infancy:" and this, though there were no other peculiarity in the case, furnishes the justification for our procedure, though the New Testament textual criticism is so very far from being in its infancy that the New Testament Company felt themselves in duty bound to grapple with the subject. Yet in some few instances of extreme difficulty we have adopted a reading on the authority of the ancient versions, only taking care to record the fact in the margin that we have departed from the Massoretic text. Besides, we have enriched the margin in a great number of instances with various readings from these ancient versions; particularly in the books of Samuel, which many at present believe to be much more happily represented in the Septuagint than in the Hebrew, we have furnished materials for the English reader of ordinary intelligence. From these he may first of all see how narrow the divergence is, at the very utmost; and next he may in some measure judge for himself of the value of these readings, whether they are correct or not.

As for the revisers taking a certain course in reference to popular prejudices, that their work may secure a speedy general acceptance, various opinions will be formed as to the probability of this end being best attainable by one course or

another. Nothing has seemed to me more obscure in the history of the Authorized Version than the way in which it reached the position of confidence and affection that has long been accorded unanimously to it. I say nothing of the official sanction, though curious things may be gathered on this subject; as indeed after the publication of the Revised New Testament there was a controversy on the genuineness of the royal appointment that it be read in churches. Granting this to be genuine, as is highly probable, if not certain, we have no data for determining its popularity with the people. I have not been able to learn that any notable use was made of the new version until the time when the Long Parliament had convened the Westminster Assembly, and had received from the Divines the Westminster Confession of Faith; the Parliament asked that it should be fortified by proofs from Scripture, and the Divines gave their proof texts from the version of 1611. This may be held to indicate that at the time it was popular with the Puritans and the Scotch, as the use of it by the divines may also have been the means of increasing and confirming that popularity: but this was after a generation had passed away. Among members of the Church of England it may have been less popular: certainly it was not introduced into the Prayer-book till after the Restoration, and it never displaced there the old prose version of the Psalms, or the ten commandments and other texts in the Communion Service; I presume because the people were attached to these in the older form. In Scotland it is well known that the Church would not have received or displaced a version of Scripture at the mere command of the king: but in 1611, and for years before and after, no free and lawful General Assembly was held, such as might have given injunction on the subject. From the close connection between the Church of Scotland and the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, it is a probable inference that the new version was regarded in Scotland with favour: yet this makes it the more noteworthy that no ecclesi-

astical action was ever taken to bring it into use. There is little room for doubt that the Geneva version was eminently popular, and that it had been almost if not altogether universally used in Scottish public worship: and this may explain the absence of any Church law displacing it in favour of the version of 1611. I have it upon the authority of an accomplished ecclesiastical antiquary, the late Rev. Walter Wood of Elie, that in one of the ancient royal boroughs in the south-east of Fife the Geneva version was used in the worship of the parish church till the book was worn out, towards the end of last century. I have no right to suppose that this was a solitary instance, else why was it not challenged? It seems to me that we are unable from past experience to calculate whether our work is more or less likely to win its way to general acceptance by our too great boldness in making changes, or by our too timid shrinking from them, as different critics will no doubt differ in representing our action. But if the version of 1611 was more or less in use for thirty years before any decided verdict in its favour is known to have been delivered, perhaps the present revisers may have to content themselves with the judgment of posterity.

There were other questions besides that of the text which required consideration from the first, though the decision was not finally made till experience brought us to be very much of one mind. There was, for instance, regard to be had to the Hebrew chapters and verses; of which it is to be remembered that they have very unequal authority to plead in favour of their retention, the division into verses being extremely ancient, and that into chapters being so recent. But for many reasons we have retained them, yet only as means of easily finding a passage, and we have printed the text in paragraphs, as in the Revised New Testament: for this step we could also urge that a division into paragraphs had probably been made by the Jewish scribes even earlier than into verses, and of that division we were able to make

some use. We have also adopted the methods of printing in lines which is seen in the longer New Testament quotations from the Old: yet we have restricted this to the poetical books, properly so called, and to what we regarded as lyrical passages in the historical and prophetical books.

In the matter of punctuation we were confronted with the difficulty that the Hebrew system is so minute and so rich in its varied forms that no modern system can represent anything beyond its more prominent features. It is also the conviction of many that the Hebrew accentuation has a rhythmical character and a rhetorical purpose, such as forbids us at times to reproduce it in our punctuation, which aims, I might almost say, exclusively at a logical division of the sentence, else we should mislead the reader. Besides, in many cases, the ancient versions clearly adopt a division of sentences very different from the Massoretic: and the best known modern scholars often do the same, for instance in such well-known passages as Ps. xx. 9, xlii. 5, 6. It is impossible to expect unanimity in such a matter. As a whole, the Revised Version exhibits a much nearer approach to the Massoretic punctuation than the Authorized Version does, though this will be little noticed except upon very close examination, and may be swept away gradually by the influences which surround the printing-press: while, in some cases of interest, attention is directed in the margin to the peculiarities of the punctuation.

It has long appeared to me that a great wrong has been done to the Authorized Version by the printing of the Bible commonly without the marginal notes: the revisers of 1611 no doubt attached great importance to their marginal renderings, and may have even preferred some of them, though they felt that according to their instructions they could not place them in the text. We have done our best to prevent this injustice being repeated in our own history, by making our margin as interesting and valuable as we could, while yet abstaining from the practice of making it at times a brief

commentary, as the authors of the Geneva Version made theirs. We have indeed sacrificed a number of the old marginal notes, where these seemed to us purely grammatical, without any intrinsic value, or where we hesitated in regard to their accuracy, as in some explanations given in Genesis xli. Of various purposes which we wished our marginal notes to serve, a brief but clear statement is given in the preface.

The spelling of proper names presents difficulties which are practically insurmountable in a version meant for popular use, because the Hebrew and the English alphabets correspond very imperfectly. What we have done, we hope, will be generally approved, as we have endeavoured to carry out more thoroughly the principles of the system on which the Authorized Version has been formed, yet stopping short of pedantry, and leaving untouched those names that are thoroughly familiar. It is different indeed when two forms of the same word have been given through inconsistent transliteration or other causes: for instance, it is a blemish in the Authorized Version to have Zion and Sion (Sion in Deut. iv. 48 is different), Gaza and Azzah, Tyre and Tyrus: and the first of each of these pairs has been adopted throughout. In one class of transliterated words a change has been made, by ceasing to give the English in addition to the Hebrew plural, in the case of the common word *cherubin* (not *cherubims*); and so, too, *seraphim*. *Anakim*, *Emim*, *Horim*, etc.: *Anakites*, *Emites*, *Horites*, etc., would have been quite admissible, and so would *cherubs* and *scraphs*, but the change would have been greater, and it might not have commended itself.

When I return to the subject, I shall endeavour to guide the reader of the Revised Bible to notice the results of our proceedings in the work of translating: rearranging sentences, or even altering them throughout, in a very few instances; giving new renderings of words, bringing out the tenses and moods of verbs, and devoting more attention to prepositions, conjunctions, and the article, than the revisers of 1611 have done, or perhaps were in circumstances to attempt.

For it must be recollected that, on the one hand, we refuse to make any comparison between our own personal qualifications and those of the great men to whom we are indebted for the Authorized Version: contenting ourselves with saying, that however little we know of them and their labours individually, we have conceived an ever-increasing esteem and admiration for their joint labours in the course of our protracted studies. On the other hand, we insist that we have advantages which they could not have, and are therefore in no way to be blamed for wanting. At starting we occupied a position of vantage, in consequence of their work being in our hands. We have had ancient documents which were unknown to them, notably the precious Syriac version of the Old Testament, first published in the Paris Polyglott, 1629-1645. We have had the whole scholarship of Europe bearing on the Old Testament for more than two centuries and a half continuously. And we have had in our hands during the time we were at work a number of mechanical aids to translation, lexicons and grammars and commentaries, with examples and proofs of significations and constructions in cases of doubt and difficulty, and also concordances referring both to the original language and to our own. So highly have we esteemed the labours of our great predecessors that it will be easy to furnish examples of texts in which the Authorized Version is deliberately retained unaltered where we might have made out a good case for a change of rendering. But on this very account we plead that our work has been attempted in no spirit of vainglory or presumption; that our aim has been to preserve and hand down the Old Bible essentially as it was, yet with certain blemishes removed, carefully, reverently, systematically. We know that we shall not please all. We can but await with respectful solicitude, yet not without confidence, the verdict even of those who may find fault with many of the details of our work.

GEORGE C. M. DOUGLAS.

## THE CHRISTIAN ELEMENT IN THE BOOK OF JOB.

IN several respects the Book of Job has been neglected. Painters will say that it has been overlooked by painters (except William Blake); I am sure myself that its stores have not been much drawn upon by poets; and, though it has not exactly been neglected by theologians, I have more than a suspicion that this noble book has yet to be appreciated by them as it deserves. Those many lay-readers, too, who, whether consciously or not, draw a broad distinction between religion and theology, are very far from divining all the pleasure and profit, all the spiritual comfort and edification, which He who in some sense guided the pen of the author of *Job* certainly meant them to enjoy. It is true that the unequalled specimen of narrative with which the Colloquies are introduced never fails to find admiring readers, and that isolated passages in Job's speeches are full of such a vital force that they have become everlasting formulas, whether of unwilling doubt or of victorious faith. But even the introduction is seldom appreciated (I cannot now stop to prove this), for the most precious part of its religious contents and some at least of these classical passages are not correctly understood. It is a delicate task to controvert explanations which have become endeared by sacred associations, and I see that Dr. A. B. Davidson, from whom the Book of Job has received a deeper study than from any other living English writer, pronounces in favour of what is certainly the fuller view (if it be exegetically admissible) of chap. xix. 25-27. In his "additional note" on this passage (*The Book of Job*, "Cambridge Series," pp. 291-6) he remarks: "We should be wrong to say that he contemplates a purely spiritual vision of God, and further wrong to say that he contemplates being

invested with a new body when he shall see God. Neither thought is present to his mind, which is entirely absorbed in the idea of seeing God." This will, I imagine, be in harmony with the religious position of many an attached member of the orthodox churches. Just as these can accept the "real presence" of Christ in the Eucharist, provided no theory of the mode of the presence be required of them, so they can easily realize the state of mind of an Old Testament saint, too reverent to pronounce on the mode in which he shall "see God," whether it be in the body or out of the body. Still I think that Dr. Davidson has not made clear to the English reader the unique obscurity and therefore uncertainty of the Hebrew text. Any one who will consult a bewildering though very learned paper by the Rev. C. (now Dr.) Taylor, in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. iii. (1871), pp. 128-152, will probably agree with Dr. Hermann Schultz, who is convinced, he says, after each fresh examination, of "the baffling intricacy and obscurity and the probable corruption of the text."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Schultz is one of the most temperate of living German critics, and is cited here, because his tastes lead him even more to biblical and dogmatic theology than to minute textual studies. In spite of his strong theological interest, this able scholar pronounces against the view that the prospect before the mind of Job is the beatific vision, "even after Dillmann's attractive exposition" (and we too have a Dillmann in the eminent Scottish Hebraist), on these decisive grounds, "that so positive a contradiction to all that Job clearly expresses elsewhere cannot be conceived without an express mention of the change of mind of the hero, that neither the friends nor Job himself takes up this new view (which transforms the whole controversy), and finally that the discourse in chap. xix. is only an enthusiastic resumption of what has been said in

<sup>1</sup> *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 2te Ausgabe (1878), pp. 661-2. Compare, too, the rival versions of the British and the American Revision Companies (only to be accounted for by the corruptness of the Hebrew).



chap. xvi." I agree with Dr. Schultz. Bildad's speech, with its barbed allusions to Job's sad history, had a twofold result. First of all, it raised the anguish of Job to its highest point; and secondly, it threw the sufferer back on that great intuition, which he had reached already, of a divine Witness to his integrity in the heavens. Does Job simply repeat what he has said in xvi. 18, 19 (viz. that God will avenge his blood and make reparation for his death by testifying to his innocence), or does he combine with this the delightful thought of the "beatific vision"? The context seems to me to be best satisfied by the former alternative. Job's mind is at present occupied not with the cruelty of God, but with that of his friends. It was otherwise in Job's first reply to Zophar. There it was the apparent cruelty of God which filled him with dismay, and which extracted from him the sigh, "(O that thou wouldst appoint me a term, and then remember me" (xiv. 13)! Here, however, his starting-point is, "How long will ye (my friends) pain my soul, and crush me with words" (xix. 2)? We may admit (as Dr. Schultz would probably admit) that the best solution of Job's problem would be "the beatific vision;" but if Job can say that he not merely dreams, but *knows* this ("I *know* that . . . I shall see God," xix. 25, 26), the remainder of the Colloquies ought surely to take a very different course: as a matter of fact, as Dr. Schultz has remarked, neither Job nor his friends, nor yet Jehovah Himself, refers to this newly-won truth: it is a lightning-flash which only makes the darkness more palpably obscure. In fact, the only part of "Job's deepest saying" which the next speaker fastens upon (xx. 3) is the threatening conclusion (xix. 29). Ewald himself has drawn attention to this, without remarking its adverse bearing on his own interpretation.<sup>1</sup>

By the common consent of modern critics<sup>2</sup> (I mean those

<sup>1</sup> The vindication of Job, thinks Ewald, would be incomplete, if at least the spirit of the dead man did not witness it.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch is as clear on this point as Ewald or Kuenen: vers. 23, 24 belong

who participate in the current of modern study), a reference to the doctrine of the "resurrection of the body" is not to be found in the passage before us. In this respect all modern exegesis must to an "orthodox" theologian seem rather meagre. The idea formulated in the phrase "the resurrection of the body" had not (so modern critics maintain as the result of applying the inductive method to the Old Testament writings) arisen upon the horizon of Israel's religious guides. God does not force His revelations upon unprepared minds. It is wonderful enough that Job should have clung to his belief in a moral God who should yet testify to his innocence against his so-called friends, and against the God of pure force in whom he somehow still seems to believe (xvi. 19-21). This belief in the supremacy of Goodness needed not to be inscribed on a rock; it is revealed afresh in these latter days to every human heart. Job would not have us believe such a vital truth merely on his authority. It is a not ignoble desire to be remembered by after men in a worthy way, which prompts the ejaculation in xvi. 23, 24. "O that my words were written down," means, "O that my truthful protestations of innocence might go down to posterity together with the tradition of my unique misfortune!"<sup>1</sup> Job is not anxious for fame; but fame being secured to him by his misfortunes (he says himself, "He hath set me for a proverb of the peoples," xvii. 6), he desires that rumour may not distort the truth.

There was a time not so very long since, when to deny the validity of this great "Scripture proof"<sup>1</sup> of the resurrec-

to the preceding and not to the following verses. The poet of Job throws back his own knowledge of a firmly-fixed tradition into Job's own times. His hero, not less than the woman immortalized by the Saviour (Matt. xxvi. 13), was to be an exception to the melancholy dictum, ἡ ὑστεροφημία, λήθη.

<sup>1</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> Another "Scripture proof" formerly found in the Book of Job is xxxiii. 23, 24, the "mediator," "one among a thousand," who is supposed to be the "ransom." But this is questionable. Ewald explains the "ransom" partly of the intercession of the angel-mediator, partly of the prayer of repentance; Davidson, however, allows no reference at all to the angel.

tion would have seemed an offence, not only against Christianity, but against the Book of Job, a biblical writing being valued according to its supposed services to "orthodox" theology. We must not, however, in our reaction from the pre-critical theological estimate of the Old Testament, shut our eyes to the significance of each of its parts in the history of the higher religion. The Book of Job is theological,<sup>1</sup> though the theology of its writer is that of a poet, is less logical therefore than that of an apostle, less definite even than that of a prophet, in so far as the prophet obtained (or seemed to obtain) his convictions by a message or revelation from without. Being a poet, moreover, the writer of *Job* can, even less than a prophet, have had clear conceptions of the historical Messiah and His teaching. "The christology of the book," remarks Dr. Davidson, "is indirect. There are no express references to the Messiah, though several passages may seem unconscious prophecies of Him, as those that express Job's desire to meet and see God as a man, chap. ix. 32, xxiii. 3 seq." (*Book of Job*, p. 296). Putting aside these half-expressed presentiments, moral and spiritual truths are the poet's only but sufficient province; not the secret counsels of God, nor those exceptional facts or truths which orthodoxy still perhaps regards as among the postulates of the faith of the Hebrew prophets. Nor can the hero of the poem be rightly described as a "type"<sup>2</sup> of the future Christ, being to

<sup>1</sup> Dr. A. B. Davidson significantly remarks of Isa. xl.-lxvi., "The piece, indeed, is almost a pure theological projection, as much so as the *Book of Job*" (*The Expositor*, Aug. 1883, p. 81). It is not my object here to set forth even in outline the full theological projection of the poem of *Job*, but only its more specially Christian elements.

<sup>2</sup> "The Church in all ages has regarded the one as a type of the other," Turner, *Studies Biblical and Oriental*, p. 150. This implies the historic character of the story of Job; but Delitzsch has already dissuaded from insisting too much on this. "The endurance of Job" (James v. 11) is equally instructive, whether the story be "real" (*wirklich*) or only ideally true (*wahr*); and if by the phrase "the end of the Lord" St. James refers to the Passion of Jesus (to me, however, this is doubtful), he can be claimed with as much reason for the view of Job here adopted as for the older theory advocated by Mr. Turner.

all intents and purposes a creation of the fancy, whether of the unconsciously working fancy of the people, or of the rich and potent imagination of a poet. In what sense, then, may the Book of Job still claim a theological significance, and be allowed to fill a not unimportant place in the *Vorgeschichte* of Christianity?

I. The hero of the poem is, not indeed a type, but in some sense prophetic of the Christ, inasmuch as the very conception of a righteous man enduring vast calamities, not so much for his own own sake as for the world's, is a bold hypothesis which could only in the Christ be made good. The poet does more than merely personify the invisible Church of righteous and believing sufferers; he idealizes this Church in doing so, and this idealizing is a venture of faith. Job is an altogether exceptional figure: he is imperfect, no doubt, if viewed as a symbol of the Christ, but this does not diminish the reality and the grandeur of the presentiment which he embodies. To a religious mind, this remarkable creation will always appear stamped by the hand of Providence. Job is not indeed a Saviour, but the imagination of such a figure prepares the way for a Saviour. In the words of Dr. Mozley, "If the Jew was to accept a Messiah who was to lead a life of sorrow and abasement, and to be crucified between two thieves, it was necessary that it should be somewhere or other distinctly taught that virtue was not always rewarded here, and that therefore no argument could be drawn from affliction and ignominy against the person who suffered it."<sup>1</sup>

II. This, then, is the grandest of the elements in the Book of Job which helped to prepare the noblest minds among the Jews for the reception of primitive Christianity, viz. the idea of a righteous man suffering simply because (as was said of One parallel in many respects to Job) "it pleased Jehovah (for a wise purpose) to bruise him." The *second* element is the idea of a supra-mundane justice, which will one day manifest itself

<sup>1</sup> Mozley, *Essays*, ii. 227; comp. Turner, *Studies*, p. 149.

in favour of the righteous sufferer, not only in this world (xvi. 18, 19, xix. 25, xlii.), so that all men may recognise his innocence, but also beyond the grave, the sufferers themselves being in some undefined manner brought back to life in the conscious enjoyment of God's favour (xiv. 13-15, xix. 26, 27?). There may be only suggestions of these ideas, but suggestions were enough when interpreted by sympathetic readers. I should add that by this word "sympathetic" I mean in sympathy with the conception of God formed by the author of *Job*. Nothing is more out of sympathy with this conception than that saying of the great Jewish scholar S. D. Luzzatto (but then, except by an inconsistency, how can a strict Jew appreciate the ideas of the Book of Job?), "The God of Job is not the God of Israel the gracious One; He is the Almighty and the Righteous, but not the kind and faithful One." No; the God of Job would be less than infinitely righteous if He were not also merciful (comp. Ps. lxii. 12). And of this enlarged conception of God, faith in the immortality of the human spirit<sup>1</sup> is a consequence. Justice to those with whom God is in covenant requires that He should not after a few years hurl them back into non-existence (comp. Job x. 8-13). But I can only skirt the fringe of the great religious problems opened by this wonderful book.

Opened, but not fully solved. The spectacle before us is that of a powerful mind dashing itself against problems too great for it. It is indeed a familiar experience, but the Book of Job shows us that it is not peculiarly modern. Its author expresses dramatically the results of his own spiritual training, and calls upon those who are passing through the same deep waters not to suppress their doubts, but to fight their way through

<sup>1</sup> Such a faith, in a sense fitted to give life and hope, formed no part of Talmudic Judaism. The resurrection was a privilege of Israel. Gehinnom (Geenna), which for Israel is a purgatory, is for the heathen a place of torment, ending in annihilation. Weber, *System der altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie*, pp. 372-1.

them. Such doubts, indeed, as our own poet has taught us, are more religious than "half the creeds," whatever Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar may say to the contrary. The hero of *Job* could not, of course, find what Christians are bound to think the only adequate explanation of his difficulty. Missing it, he has been taken by some who decline the Christian name for a forerunner of a scepticism which does not look upwards and onwards. Heine, for instance, terms the Book of Job "the Song of Songs of Scepticism." No doubt the confirmed sceptic and the atheist can find sayings in *Job* which may seem spoken by themselves; but these only enhance the significance of the counteracting element of faith. It is the logical incompleteness of *Job* which at once exposes the book to misjudgment and gives it an eternal fascination. As Quinet has said, "Ce qui fait la grandeur de ce livre, c'est qu'en dépassant la mesure de l'Ancien Testament il appelle, il provoque nécessairement des cieux nouveaux. . . . Le christianisme vit au fond de ce blasphème." We need a second part of *Job*, or at the least a third speech of Jehovah, which could, however, only be given by some Hebrew poet who had drunk deeply at the fountains of the Fourth Gospel. (It is characteristic of the mystic insight of our poet-painter Blake that he nearly fills up the margin of his illustration to the confession of Job in xlii. 5, with passages from the Johannine writings.) Failing these, the Christian reader must supply what is necessary for himself, namely, a better compensation to Job for his agony than the Epilogue provides,<sup>1</sup> and a more touching and not less divine theophany (comp. Job ix. 32, 33).

T. K. CHEYNE.

<sup>1</sup> Without entering into the question whether the Epilogue (chap xlii. 7-17) is the work of the poet of the Colloquies (though it is not so clear as Professor Davidson seems to think that the Epilogue and the Prologue stand or fall together), it must be admitted that the Epilogue is but a lame and impotent conclusion of the great drama.

## THE BRETHREN OF OUR LORD.

**MENTION** is repeatedly made in the New Testament of certain persons, evidently few in number, as characterized by the distinctive attribute of being brothers of Christ.

With reference to four several occasions do persons so described come before us in the Gospels.

(1) The earliest mention appertains to the very commencement of our Lord's ministry. St. John, immediately after relating His first miracle, at Cana, says: "After this He went down to Capernaum, He, and His mother, and His brethren, and His disciples; and there they abode not many days" (John ii. 12).

The last clause, as Professor Westcott remarks, is added "to show, that at present Capernaum was not made the permanent residence of the Lord, as it became afterwards" (*Speaker's Commentary, in loc.*).

(2) The second, found in all the first three Gospels, is connected with an incident occurring in the earlier period of His ministry, while His popularity in Galilee was still at its height.

St. Matthew (xii. 46-50) writes thus: "While He was yet speaking to the multitudes, behold, His mother and His brethren stood without, seeking to speak to Him. And one said unto Him, Behold, Thy mother and Thy brethren stand without, seeking to speak to Thee. But He answered and said unto him that told Him, Who is My mother? and who are My brethren? And He stretched forth His hand towards His disciples, and said, Behold My mother and My brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of My Father which is in heaven, he is My brother, and sister, and mother."

Very similarly writes also St. Mark (iii. 31-35); more succinctly, St. Luke (viii. 19-21).

(3) The third, presented in the first two Gospels (Matt. xiii. 54-56; Mark vi. 1-3), relates to a visit made by our Lord to Nazareth.

In St. Mark it stands thus: "And He cometh into His own country; and His disciples follow Him. And when the Sabbath was come, He began to teach in the synagogue: and many hearing Him were astonished, saying, Whence hath this man these things? and, What is the wisdom that is given unto this man, and what mean such mighty works wrought by His hands? Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary [Matt., 'Is not this the carpenter's son?'], and brother of James, and Joses [Matt., Revised Greek Text, 'Joseph'], and Judas, and Simon? and are not his sisters here [Matthew adds, 'all'] with us?"

(4) The fourth, found in St. John only, refers to a conversation in Galilee, in the autumn which preceded the Passion.

John vii. 2-5: "Now the feast of the Jews, the feast of tabernacles, was at hand. His brethren therefore said unto Him, Depart hence, and go into Judæa, that Thy disciples also may behold Thy works which Thou doest. For no man doeth anything in secret, and Himself seeketh to be known openly. If Thou doest these things, manifest Thyself to the world. For even His brethren did not believe on Him."

In the Acts they are mentioned once. Like as in the Gospels, collectively, in the plural number. In chap. i. 14, St. Luke, having given the list of the eleven apostles remaining after Judas's fall, writes thus of the position of affairs immediately subsequent to our Lord's ascension: "These all with one accord continued stedfastly in prayer, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with His brethren."

In the Epistles they are referred to in the plural number once. 1 Cor. ix. 5: "Have we no right to lead about a wife



that is a believer [Gr. 'sister'], even as the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?"

Lastly, in the Epistle to the Galatians, written at nearly the same time as that addressed to the Corinthians, one single individual is named as standing in this relation to Christ. St. Paul, referring to his first visit to Jerusalem subsequent to his conversion, when, as he intimates, he was received as a guest by St. Peter, says, "But other of the apostles saw I none, save [or, 'but only'] James the Lord's brother."

Such are the passages in which the designation occurs in the writings of the New Testament.

The one cited last is of very considerable importance; to the references to the Lord's brethren found in the New Testament, this particular one links on a whole series of references to them found both in the New Testament, and in writers subsequent to the apostolic era.

For we learn from it this: (a) That James the Lord's brother, if not himself an apostle, a question which just now we may leave in abeyance, was however one who stood so near to the apostles as to take rank in the Church at their side; that is, it is James the Lord's brother, who, agreeably thereto, is in the next chapter of this Epistle to the Galatians spoken of as the "James" who, in conjunction with "Peter" and "John," formed a triumvirate of "pillars" of the Christian cause:

(b) That it was, then, James the Lord's brother, who in the twelfth chapter of the Acts, answerably to these indications given of him by St. Paul, comes into view as one whom St. Peter, when himself obliged to withdraw from that personal oversight which, as Coryphæus of the band of apostles, he had been wont to exercise in the great metropolis of the Church, as it were summoned forth to assume the responsibilities which he himself was now constrained to relinquish: "Tell these things unto James, and to the brethren:"

(c) That it was James the Lord's brother, who, as is told

in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, at the conference of apostles and elders convened at Jerusalem to consider the relation which Gentile converts were to be understood as holding towards the Mosaic law, is the "James" that is seen (vers. 19-21) leading or representing the assembly in pronouncing its final judgment:

(d) That it was James the Lord's brother, that was the "James" to whom Christ, as St. Paul writes to the Corinthians (xv. 7), vouchsafed to show Himself after His resurrection; for James the brother of John having early suffered martyrdom, it is this James alone whom the name, without further specification, thus introduced by St. Paul, would be understood by the Corinthians to represent:

(e) That it was James the Lord's brother, that was the "James" who in the twenty-first chapter of the Acts appears as at the head of the Jerusalem eldership, and as one to whom St. Paul in the first instance, on coming to Jerusalem, referred himself; and who, as standing in this position, advised St. Paul as to the course which in his difficult circumstances he should then adopt.

(f) It was therefore, we may further infer, James the Lord's brother who, in consequence as it should seem of his holding such a position as has been now indicated, felt himself, though not (perhaps) himself one of the twelve apostles, certainly not so describing himself, yet authorized and prompted to address to Jewish Christians in general the Epistle which goes by his name, and which the general consent of Church tradition and the prevailing judgment of biblical critics assign to "James the first bishop of Jerusalem."

(g) And as one inference more, with reference to the field of view presented in the canonical Scriptures, it is James the Lord's brother whom St. Jude in the greeting of his Epistle refers to, when, to make good (apparently) his own title to address himself to the saints with words of such solemn

warning as he here employs, he designates himself as "Judas a bondservant of Jesus Christ and brother of James." In other words, we find in the author of this Epistle another of the Lord's brethren; another of the four who by the astonished citizens of Nazareth were reckoned up by name as holding this relationship to Jesus.

Furnished with these data gathered out of the text of the New Testament, our minds are prepared to receive and so to speak assimilate those later references to the *Desposyni* as our Lord's relations according to the flesh got early to be designated, which have next to be produced.

The earliest author outside the sacred canon, in whose extant writings any one of the *Desposyni* is mentioned, is Josephus.

In introducing the references which Josephus makes to St. James, I cannot do better than quote what Eusebius (340) writes concerning them in his *Church History* (ii. 23). It is as follows:—

Eusebius has been citing Hegesippus's account of St. James's martyrdom, which will come under consideration later on; and now adds:

"So admirable a person was James, and so highly revered for righteousness, with all men [as well as in the Church], that even of the Jews the wiser part were of opinion, that this [*sc.* his murder] was the cause of the siege of Jerusalem which ensued immediately after his martyrdom; for this they think befell them for no other reason than the [*ἄγος*] inexpiable crime perpetrated upon him. Why, to go no further, even Josephus has not shrunk from testifying as much in writing, in those words of his which follow:

"'Now these things have befallen the Jews, to avenge James the Righteous, who was brother of Jesus who is called Christ; because that being pre-eminently righteous, the Jews had yet put him to death.'

"The same author [*sc.* Josephus] gives an account of his

death in the twentieth book of his *Antiquities*, in the following terms:<sup>1</sup>

“On being informed of the death of Festus, Cæsar sends Albinus to Judæa as Procurator (Eparch). Now the younger Ananus, who we have said had been appointed to the high-priesthood, was of a disposition remarkably bold and daring. He followed, we may observe, the tenets of the Sadducees, who in their judicial sentences are, as we have already shown, unrelenting [ἀμολ] beyond all other Jews. As one of such a cast of mind would be likely to do, Ananus thinking that he had now a fine opportunity, Festus being dead, and Albinus still only upon the road, convenes a session [or, sanhedrim] of judges. And bringing into its midst the brother of Jesus who was called Christ, James by name, and certain others, he presented an accusation against them of transgressing the Law, and delivered them over to be stoned. But all the most moderate men in the city, men also very exact in the observance of the laws, were much offended at this. Accordingly, they secretly sent to the king [Agrippa], beseeching him to direct Ananus not to do such things any more; for that he had not done right in what he had begun to do. Some of them even went out to meet Albinus while on his way from Alexandria, and showed him that it was not competent to Ananus to convene a sanhedrim without his consent. Accordingly, Albinus being won over by what he was told, wrote Ananus an angry letter, threatening that he would punish him. The king Agrippa also on this account deprived him of his high-priesthood after being only three months in office, and appointed Jesus the son of Dammæus.”

The only other passage ascribed to Josephus containing any reference to Christianity or its Author, is the celebrated one in *Antiquities* (xviii. 3. 3); which also is quoted, just as we have it in our copies of Josephus's works, by Eusebius in his *Church History* (i. 11), and in his earlier work *On Gospel*

<sup>1</sup> *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1.

*Demonstration* (iii. p. 124). It makes no mention of our Lord's relatives: nevertheless, as it brings to light the perplexities which beset the question of Josephus's attitude towards Christianity, some of my readers may not be sorry to see it reproduced here. It is as follows:—

“There appears at this time [*sc.* in the procuratorship of Pilate] a certain Jesus, a wise man; if indeed we should call him a man, for he was a doer of surprising works; a teacher of such men as had pleasure in receiving the things that be true. And many of the Jews, many also from gentiledom, did he gain over to himself. This man was the Christ. And when upon information laid against him by our principal men Pilate inflicted upon him the penalty of the cross, those who at the first had come to love him did not cease from their attachment. For on the third day he appeared to them alive again, the divine prophets having told both these and ten thousand other surprising things concerning him. And up to now the tribe of those named after him ‘Christians’ has not become extinct.”

Modern criticism has for the most part cast very sour looks upon each one of these three passages found in or ascribed to Josephus; most especially upon the one last cited relative to Christ Himself.

And in fact it is very hard to believe, that it could have been penned by Josephus in the form in which it now appears. It is wholly foreign to his sphere of religious sentiment, that speaking in his own person he should say that “Jesus was the Christ,”—if this means, which it here looks to mean, that Jesus was in reality the Messiah of Jewish expectation: otherwise, that he should say that this Jesus was the Jesus who ~~was called Christ~~, that is, the Jesus who, as thus designated by His followers, originated the “tribe” of people who were called “Christians,” would present no difficulty whatever.

Josephus's own posture of mind in reference to the Messianic expectations which had been, and no doubt still were,

rife amongst his countrymen, is plainly evinced by what he writes in his *War* (vi. 5. 4). It is as follows:—

“ But now what did most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that was also found in their sacred writings, how, ‘ about that time, one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth.’ The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular ; and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judæa. However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate, although they see it beforehand. But these men interpreted some of these signals according to their own pleasure ; and some of them they utterly despised, until their madness was demonstrated, both by the taking of their city and by their own destruction ” (Whiston).

But further, the passage, as it stands, says more than this: it also affirms the very kernel-facts of the evangelistic history ; asserting, moreover, that the divine prophets had foretold both the resurrection of Jesus and an infinity of other particulars of His personality. Only a Christian could have written thus.

And yet, on the other hand, it is allowed by those whose familiarity with Josephus's writings entitles them to express an opinion—by Ewald, for example—that it bears traces of Josephus's style and diction. Also, it is found in every extant Manuscript containing this latter portion of the *Antiquities*. It is moreover cited by a full catena of Christian writers, commencing with Eusebius.<sup>1</sup>

But then, again, on the other side of the question, how could Josephus, professing to give so particular an account of the religion and history of his nation, have had before the

<sup>1</sup> Origen, however, writing about a hundred years before Eusebius, shows that he was not aware of the existence of such a passage as we now have, by his saying (*Comment. in Matt.* p. 234, and again, *Contra Celsum*, i. pp. 35, 36, as cited by Whiston) that Josephus “ did not receive Jesus for Christ,” “ did not believe in Jesus as Christ.”

world the face to wholly ignore the historical phenomena of the life and death of Christ and the issuing forth from the bosom of Judaism of the Christian sect, when, by the time he wrote, that is in the reign of Domitian, these matters were become notorious throughout the Roman Empire?

It is not supposable that he said nothing at all about these subjects, irksome and disagreeable as they on various accounts must have been to him, both as a Jew and as a devoted courtier of the world.

Further it is to be borne in mind, that Josephus certainly designed his *Antiquities*, as well as his Greek edition of his *War with the Romans* (this latter work having been first given to the world in his own native Syro-Chaldaic language), for the use of Gentile readers. This is shown by the prefaces which he prefixed to them severally, as well as by the whole complexion of the *Antiquities*.

But among the Gentiles, especially after the worry occasioned to the Empire by the Jewish insurgency in the earlier half of the second century, the Jewish nation and its internal affairs would naturally be so abhorrent to those still heathens, that few of them would be likely to read, much less to transcribe, these voluminous works. Both perusal and transcription would be chiefly left to Christians who were interested in these histories through the relation which Christianity holds to Judaism, and who (Ewald remarks) found in them the most of what general history they cared to be acquainted with.

An hypothesis, therefore, more or less similar to that which Ewald broached in the fifth volume of his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (pp. 119–123), appears extremely probable. We may believe that Josephus did give some brief account of Christ and of the first starting of the Christian Church, in the place in which we now find one; but that a Christian transcriber or editor, of eminence in this line of literature, at an early period, say in the second or early in the third century, retouched the original passage, with the design (suppose) to

make it more conformable to the real facts of the case, more edifying to mankind, less unpalatable to Christian readers.

The original form of the passage may be imagined to have represented Jesus Christ as a *Goete* of a seemingly pious and saintly description; a doer of marvellous works, at least in the way of exorcism (it would not cost Josephus much to allow this; for compare the story of Eleazar's exorcisms in *Antiq.* viii. 3. 5); and professing to be a teacher of truth and piety. It may also have stated, that after His crucifixion *His disciples affirmed*, that "they had seen Him again in life;" that "this Jesus was the Christ;" that "He was born of a virgin;" and that these and an infinity of other marvels relating to Him "had been foretold by the prophets." Josephus had probably added that "the tribe of *Christians*, so named after Him, was still at the time that he was writing not extinct."

It is a significant circumstance, that this third section of the chapter comes in the midst of an account which the chapter is occupied with, of a series of calamitous circumstances befalling the Jews. The *first* section relates the trouble occasioned by Pilate's bringing into Jerusalem military standards bearing effigies of the Emperor. The *second*, the assassination of a large number of the citizens in a quarrel between Pilate and them, by soldiers of his in plain clothes secretly carrying arms. The *third*, this, whatever it originally contained, respecting Jesus Christ. The *fourth* begins thus:—

"And about the same time, there was another terrible business to disturb [*ἔρεπόν τι δεινὸν ἐθορύβεi*] the Jews; and in connection with the temple of Isis at Rome, doings occur not free of infamy. After first making mention of a daring action of those belonging to Isis, I will then pass on in my account to the things which happened among the Jews."

This last-mentioned point occupies the *fifth* and last section; in which Josephus briefly relates the embezzlement by a knot of four Jews of valuable gifts for the temple of Jerusalem which they had got from Fulvia, a wealthy Roman



lady of high rank, who was a convert to Judaism; and how upon its discovery Tiberius banished from Rome all Jews resident there, after levying four thousand of them for military service in Sardinia.<sup>1</sup>

Does not all this betoken, that the appearance upon the scene of Jesus Christ, attended by the springing up of the "tribe of Christians," was regarded, and just here described, by the historian, in conscious sympathy with the generality not only of his fellow-nationals, but also of the Gentile world he was addressing, as having itself been a "terrible" disaster for the Jewish people?

That it was not in particular *the Crucifixion* of Jesus that Josephus spoke of, as marking for calamitous the circumstances related by him in this third section, is proved by the following remarks of Origen found in the 47th chapter of the first book of his work *Against Celsus*, which I shall again have occasion to refer to subsequently:—

"In the eighteenth book of his *Antiquities of the Jews*,<sup>2</sup> Josephus bears witness to John as having been a Baptist, and as promising purification to those who underwent the rite. Now this writer, though not believing in Jesus as the Christ, in seeking after the cause of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple,—whereas he ought to have said that the conspiracy against Jesus was the cause of these calamities befalling the people, since they put to death Christ who was a prophet, says nevertheless—being, although against his will, not far from the truth—that these disasters happened to the Jews as a punishment for the death of James the Just, who was a brother of Jesus called Christ—the Jews having put him to death although he was a man most distinguished for his justice" (Prof. Crombie's Translation).

<sup>1</sup> "Who would be no great loss (*vile damnum*) if the evil climate killed them," is the cynical remark of Tacitus, when, in his *Annals* (ii. 85, on the year u.c. 772; A.D. 19), he finds occasion to mention the *Senatus-Consultum* ordaining their banishment. Compare also Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* xviii. 10. 2.

It is clear from this, that Origen, writing probably in the fifth decade of the third century, in *his* text of the section now under consideration, neither found the assertion which forms a part of it in the text now in our hands, "This was the Christ," nor detected any allusion to the crucifixion of Christ as itself a calamity for the Jewish nation.

The *fourth* section, a somewhat long one, is taken up with a strange narrative, the outlines of which are as follows:—

A wealthy married lady living at Rome, of the name of Paulina, highly respected both for the dignity of her ancestry and for her own eminent virtues, who was a devout worshipper of Isis, received one day a message from the temple of that goddess, purporting to come from Anubis (the companion divinity with Isis and Osiris), and brought to her by the most venerable member of its priesthood. Its import was that Anubis loved her and desired her to come to him at that fane. With the consent of her husband, whom she apprized of the message, she went; and on the next day returned home full of joy, telling her husband of the condescension of the god. Among her friends also she declared with no small exultation, how great a value she set upon the grace accorded her: her friends some of them disbelieving the thing when they reflected upon its nature; while others of them were lost in wonder, seeing no good reason for discrediting it, when they considered the modesty of Paulina's character and her high respectability. Two days later her pious joy and self-gratulation were rudely shattered, and converted into shame and anguish. A gentleman of high rank, who had previously harassed her with repeated solicitations and large offers, met her, and mockingly informed her that what she had refused to his prayers, he had won at a much cheaper rate by taking to himself the name of the god Anubis. The affair got public, and created a great sensation. The husband made his complaint to Tiberius, who took the matter up very warmly; after thoroughly investigating the business, the Emperor

banished the seducer, crucified his accomplices at the temple, and demolished the building itself, casting the image of Isis into the Tiber.

Now the reader of this chapter of Josephus's history may well wonder what manner of connection the story in its fourth section has with the context, or indeed with the Jews at all; for there were no Jews mixed up with the affair. And in truth, why he narrated it, Josephus gives no indication whatever; he has left it to his readers to construe its relation to what precedes or follows in the best way they can.

One hint of explanation is suggested by that account of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, which as above mentioned Tacitus gives in the second book of his *Annals* (chap. 85). It runs thus:—

“The senate was called upon to consider about the driving away of the religious rites of Egyptians and Jews; and the Fathers adopted the resolution that ‘four thousand of the freedmen class who were infected with that superstition, who were of the proper age, should be taken over to the Island of Sardinia,’—to abate the brigandage there; and if the evil climate killed them, there would be no great loss;—‘that all the rest should quit Italy, unless before a specified date they renounced those profane rites.’”<sup>1</sup>

Tacitus does not care to discriminate, as we may believe neither did the nobility and gentry of Rome in general care to discriminate, between the religion of Egypt and that of the Jews. The *Senatus-Consultum* he cites appears, both from Josephus and from Suetonius (*Tiber.* 36), to have related mainly to the Jews. But in all probability it further ordered those extraordinary measures of severity which were executed, as Josephus informs us, upon the votaries of Isis concerned in the dishonouring of Paulina.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to observe, that Josephus and Tacitus both flourished and wrote near about the same time, Josephus, who was born A.D. 37, being by about seven years the senior of the two.

It may be inferred that Roman *Society*, to adopt the modern phrase, as well as the imperial court, had been set in a flame of haughty resentment against those "profane superstitions" and all who adhered to them, by the *simultaneous occurrence* of wrongs severally perpetrated by them upon those two ladies of their body. Either one of the two cases, if occurring alone, might not have made such an impression. It was their coming together that did it. In this way, Paulina's miserable business, which was indeed the worse case of the two, may have had a material influence in bringing about the hard measures enacted against the Jewish nation.

But while we may recognise the force of these considerations, it is difficult not to feel, that the *animus* of Josephus's narrative in section 4 is due to something more than this. The relish, the *abandon*, with which he portrays the infatuation of Paulina is only then adequately explained, if we suppose that he had in his eye another case of what he deemed a pious female's fraudulent dishonouring; occurring he thought nearer home, but throwing as he was not loth to consider an atmosphere of simply pitiable absurdity upon the whole Christian position.

In short, his aim in the introduction of this filthy tale, was in an indirect manner to discredit and deride that evangelical story of our Lord's birth of a pure virgin, which from the beginning has stood in the forefront of the Christian confession, and which in the foregoing third section he had probably not failed to particularize as such. This was to stand as a companion picture, so to speak, to the Christians' story. By evincing how very possible it was, in the very era of the Cæsars, for voluptuary passion to serve itself upon a single-hearted female of quite stainless character through the abuse of her pious beliefs, Josephus designs with true Jewish malice to insinuate into the mind of his reader the very interpretation of the facts of our Lord's birth, which blaspheming Jews as we know were from early times wont to affix to them.

The revised form of the original text of the *third* section, now found in all extant manuscripts, would, if once set on foot by an editor of repute, be gladly adopted by Christian transcribers in making new copies of the *Antiquities*, who may have been quite unconscious of the fraud perpetrated upon the original author. Christians also would be eager to alter after the same pattern copies already in their hands which exhibited the original text. In the more than two hundred years which elapsed between the death of Josephus and the authorship of Eusebius, who is the earliest known citer of this passage in any form, it may very well have come to pass that the original text had got lost sight of altogether,—as entirely as the Syro-Chaldaic edition of the *Jewish War* which had once been in use among the Jews.

In reference to the passage respecting James, which, as shown above (pp. 103–105), was cited by Eusebius as from “the twentieth book of the *Antiquities*,” and which is in fact exhibited in our copies of *Ant.* xx. 9. 1, in which James is described as sentenced by the younger Ananus to death by stoning, there does not appear any just ground for doubting its entire genuineness. If it is reasonable to believe that the passage in *Ant.* xviii. 3. 3 did, as originally written by Josephus, represent Jesus as One who was by His disciples said to be the Christ, then the clause in *Ant.* xx. 9. 1, “The brother of Jesus who was said to be Christ, by name James (τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτοῦ),” appears as a quite natural sequel, and indeed, as Ewald observes, a reminiscence, of the foregoing passage, xviii. 3. 3. That no more is said of James, not even that he was surnamed the Just or Righteous, nor yet of those “others” who were joined with him in the same sentence, for “violating the law,” furnishes a strong presumption against the Christian authorship of the passage; while, on the other hand, the silence is quite of a piece with Josephus’s usual reticence respecting Christianity.

It is further worthy of remark, that in this passage Josephus censures Ananus's sentence as in accordance with the savage severity of the Sadducean temper, but does not speak of it as in his view in itself illegal. This too may be assumed to be in conformity with the tone of sentiment with which this Jewish man of the world would seem to have regarded the Christian position. In his eyes, it was an odious distracting schism, offensive to his rationalistic spirit, and condemned as anti-Judaical; moreover, in its leading tenets, of the Incarnation and the Resurrection of Christ, as absurd and matter for derision, mere idle tales. But he may be credited with an indisposition to visit its adherents with the capital punishment which the Mosaic law denounced against the blasphemer: he disapproved of punishing men for opinions.

The Jewish-Christian tradition, as embodied in the story of James's death told by Hegesippus, bears a different aspect;—whether it may not be accepted as in some measure founded in fact, may come under consideration subsequently. As to the other passage ascribed to Josephus, cited by Eusebius (see above, p. 103) before the one taken out of *Ant.* xx. 9. 1, and which also is *in oratione obliquâ* quoted by Origen (*Cont. Cels.*; see above, p. 109), it is observable that whereas Eusebius specifies the "twentieth book of the *Antiquities*" as the place from which his other citation is drawn, he makes no specification of the place in Josephus's works from which this is taken. Further, Origen, while informing his readers that the passage in which Josephus speaks of John the Baptist was in the "eighteenth book of his *Antiquities*," being we know in *Ant.* xviii. 10. 2, likewise gives no intimation where this is to be found. In actual fact, it is not found in any one of Josephus's works now extant. This is alone a very suspicious circumstance.

It is in truth discredited by the dissimilarity of tone in speaking of James, when compared with the pretty certainly authentic passage in *Ant.* xx. 9. 1. Is it likely that

Josephus would have deemed the execution of James as being so remarkably heinous a crime as this passage describes it? That he was the brother of Jesus who was called Christ would not with him have weighed much. In short, the passage bears on the face of it the character of a Christian interpolation, appearing perhaps in some copies of the *Jewish War*. That Christians regarded this murder as calling for Divine "vengeance" is indicated by the closing words of the passage cited by Eusebius (*Church History*, ii. 2, 3) from Hegesippus: "And forthwith Vespasian set himself to besiege them." They would remember as bearing upon the subject our Lord's own words, as given Luke xi. 49-51.—The passage must be supposed to have had a place somewhere in some copies of Josephus made before the time of Origen; perhaps in different copies it was found to be in different places. It did not however get so extensively introduced, in copies even which were in vogue among Christians, as to be enabled to secure a permanent location in Josephus's text as generally accepted, and at length disappeared altogether.

A few more words must be given to Josephus, with reference to the passage respecting John the Baptist, which is spoken of by Origen (see above, p. 109), and quoted in full by Eusebius in his *Church History* (i. 11). It is found in Josephus's *Antiquities* (xviii. 5. 2). As the reader may like to have it before him, it is given below in a footnote,<sup>1</sup> from Whiston's translation.

<sup>1</sup> "Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John that was called the *Baptist*; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for that the washing [with water] would be acceptable to Him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or, the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now, when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly moved [or, pleased] by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion (for they seemed ready to do any-

There appears no reason for doubting the genuineness of this passage. The appearance of John the Baptist is described just as a Jew might describe it, but not at all as it presented itself to the eye of a Christian. As represented in the New Testament and as viewed by Christians, its principal scope, that which constituted its very essential characteristic, was this;—that John came as the herald of the approaching Christ; to prepare the Jewish people for His coming; to consecrate Jesus in His baptism as the Christ; and to point Him out to his disciples as the Christ. This Christward aspect of John's mission would of course be ignored by Josephus: Josephus was shy of the subject of the Messianic expectations of the Jewish nation, and put it out of sight as much as possible. It was therefore only in accordance with his bent of sentiment, that he should divest the idea of John's mission altogether of its Messianic aspect, and present him merely in the character of a religious reformer. In this way he would the most effectually wrest this incident of Jewish history out of the grip of Christian perversion. The spirit of the passage is thoroughly Josephian and thoroughly non-Christian.

The net result of our researches in Josephus is, that he describes James as "brother of the Jesus who was said to be Christ," and relates his having been handed over with certain others by the Sanhedrim at the prompting of an unrelenting Sadducee high priest, to be stoned as a violater of the Law, by a sentence which Josephus himself regarded, and which moderate men among the Jews in general regarded, with disapproval, as being an excessively stern enforcement of the Law.

E. HUNTABLE.

thing he should advise), thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machærus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure against him."



## THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH.

## II.

SUCH being a general view of the contents of the Apocalypse, we can now enter more particularly into some of the matters contained in it. And first, there are some puzzles connected with numbers which must be mentioned. Two such riddles confront us, a shorter and a longer.<sup>1</sup> The former concerns the end of the present world. This is to happen at the conclusion of "two parts weeks of seven weeks."<sup>2</sup> The seven weeks, which are probably derived from Dan. ix. 25, imply an interval of 49 years, which must be reckoned from the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70. The expression "two parts" means two-thirds, as in Hebrew and Latin. Two-thirds of this period, say 33 years, would land us in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117). In the chapter preceding this prophecy the seer foretells a course of twelve calamities, each more crushing than its predecessor, which should happen before the end. These may be well understood of events up to the death of Domitian (A.D. 96). But all this is pure speculation. The longer riddle is on safer ground, being a history of past events in the form of prophecy (chap. liii.-lxxiv.). Under the image of dark and bright waters following each other in succession, the writer represents the history of man from Adam to the first destruction of Jerusalem. The alternation of light and shade, prosperity and adversity, reward and punishment, in human records, is compressed into twelve great periods, the character of which is marked

<sup>1</sup> Ewald expounds them with zest, *Gött. gel. Anz.* p. 1708.

<sup>2</sup> "Mensura autem et supputatio temporis illius erunt due partes hebdomades septem hebdomadarum" (chap. xxviii.). This somewhat obscure sentence may be intended to signify that this time of tribulation is divided into seven parts which are weeks, and into two parts which are also of septenary dimensions. So Langen, p. 16.

by the changed appearance of the waters in the vision. "And it came to pass," says the seer, "that the cloud began to rain down upon the earth the waters with which it was charged. And I saw that the aspect of the waters was not one; for first they were black for a time, and then they became bright, but these were scanty; and afterwards I saw black waters a second time, and then again bright; and this was done twelve times; but the black were always more abundant than the bright." Upon the seer praying for the interpretation of this mystery, the angel Ramiel is sent to explain it thus: "Whereas thou sawest first black waters descend upon the earth, this is the sin which Adam, the first man, sinned. For since by his transgression came into the world death, which was not in his time, and sorrow, and pain, and labour, what could there be blacker than these things? Adam endangered his own soul and the souls of other men, so that all who lived on earth perished in the flood. These are the first black waters. And whereas after these thou didst see bright waters, this denotes the advent of Abraham and his son and his sons' sons and those who are like unto them; because at that time, though there was no written law among them, yet the commandments were duly observed, and faith in the judgment to come arose, and the hope of a new world was then built up, and the promise of the life hereafter was planted in men's hearts. These are the first bright waters which thou sawest." And thus the angel expounds the signification of the vision unto the first destruction of Jerusalem and onwards to Messiah's time. In this interpretation some points are noteworthy. There is a strange opinion about Manasses, king of Judah (chap. lxiv.). It is said that his impiety was so heinous that he was condemned to the penal fire. Ignoring the old tradition of his repentance and consequent acceptance with God (2 Chron. xxxiii. 12, 13, 19), of a belief in which the Apocryphal "Prayer of Manasses" is an evidence, Pseudo-Baruch testifies that though his prayer was heard, he himself

was lost. "When he was placed in the brazen horse," probably an image connected with the worship of Moloch, "the figure was melted with the ardent heat, and he perished therein, a sign of the end that awaited him. For he had not lived a perfect life, nor was he worthy; but by this sign he learned by whom he was to be tormented hereafter. For He who can reward is also able to punish." The legend found in "the Apostolical Constitutions" and elsewhere<sup>1</sup> gives a very different result. According to these authorities, at his prayer the image fell to pieces, and he escaped unharmed, returned to Jerusalem, and lived afterwards piously and prosperously. The opinion of Manasses' damnation in spite of his prayer is, as far as we know, peculiar to Pseudo-Baruch. Concerning the angels who "kept not their first estate," our seer holds the notion that they fell by their commerce with the daughters of men. "Adam," he says, "imperilled not only his own soul but the angels also. For at the time when he was created they had full liberty, and some of them descended and had intercourse with women; and then they who thus offended were tormented in chains. But the rest of the host of angels, an innumerable company, kept themselves pure." This interpretation of Gen. vi. 4 is in the main one that is common enough in Jewish, and indeed in Christian, commentaries. But it has a special feature which differentiates it from other glosses. The writer seems to teach that, as the tree of knowledge was the trial of Adam's faith and constancy, so the beauty of mortal women was appointed to be the probation of angels; and that the difference between good and bad angels consisted in the continence of the one and the unchastity of the other. The "tormenting in chains" reminds us of 2 Pet. ii. 4 and Jude 6, and is confirmed by many expressions in the Book of Enoch.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Apost. Constit.* ii. 22; Suidas, s. v. Manasses; Fritzsche, *Exeg. Handb. zu d. Apokr.* i. p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* v. 16, x. 4 ff., xiv. 4, etc. Such passages as these substantiate the reading *εσπαῖς*, chains, not *εσπῆς*, dens, in 2 Pet. ii.

There are some other peculiarities in this book which are interesting. The seer claims to have revelations made to him in two ways, by an angel, and by the voice of God. The angel he names Ramiel, "who presides over the visions of truth" (chap. iv.), and who tells him (chap. lxiii.) that he was the agent in the destruction of the host of Sennacherib in Hezekiah's reign. The name of this angel is not found elsewhere except in the Syriac version of 4 Esdr. iv. 36, v. 20, where the Latin has Jeremiel in most MSS., but in one (Turicensis) Huriel. Probably the name Ramiel is a corruption of Jeremiel, which word was formed from Jeremiah, who might well be called the prophet of truth, and give his name to the angel of the vision. The close connection between Baruch and Jeremiah makes this supposition very probable. In other passages of Esdras (iv. 1, v. 20, x. 28), Uriel is the heavenly messenger, which is in accordance with statements in the Book of Enoch (*e.g.* chap. ix. xx. lxxiv.), where an angel of this name is often introduced. But it is very possible that the three names refer to the same heavenly being. Revelation by the direct voice of God seems to be an unusual claim on the part of Jewish Apocalyptic writers. Inspiration by Bathkol, the daughter of the voice, indeed is asserted by the Rabbis up to the time of the composition of the Mishna, but this was never considered to be the voice of God Himself, but that of an angel, His agent or minister. Thus when the voice from heaven came to our Lord (John xii. 28), some of the people supposed that an angel spoke to Him; when God called to Moses from the bush, it was an angel who addressed him; and when the Law was uttered from Sinai, it was given "by the disposition of angels."<sup>1</sup> But Pseudo-Baruch especially distinguishes the heavenly voice from the revelation by the angel. "It came to pass after this," he says (chap. xxii.), "the heavens were opened, and I saw, and power was given unto me, and a

<sup>1</sup> See Acts vii. 53; Heb. ii. 2. Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 5. 3: ἡμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τὰ ἁγιώτατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δι' ἀγγέλων παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ μαρτύρων.

voice from the highest was heard, and He said unto me." It is not till some time afterwards that Ramiel is sent to interpret the vision of the waters. Langen supposes that the seer, being acquainted with St. Matthew's Gospel, took the hint of the narrative in chapter iii., and thus made the voice come immediately from God. I should think rather that the writer used the ambiguity of expression in the Old Testament to enhance the dignity of the revelation he was making. To do this he had no need to imitate St. Matthew's account.

On the subject of original sin our seer is inclined to oppose the more orthodox doctrine enunciated by Esdras. Both writers speak of the evil introduced into the world by Adam's sin, but they diverge when treating of its effects on his descendants. While Esdras teaches that Adam communicated an infected nature to his posterity,<sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Baruch affirms that the sin of Adam is transferred to others by imitation alone. "Adam," he says (chap. liv.), "was the cause of guilt to his own soul only; but we, each of us, are the Adam to our own souls." It is curious to trace here indications of that doctrine which, developed into Pelagianism, became the cause of serious controversy in the Christian Church. The received maxim among the Jews was that the whole world was comprised in Adam and sinned in his sin. The expression in Job xiv. 4 ("Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one"), whether we take it interrogatively or optatively, comes to the same thing and intimates that the old belief obtained: "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me" (Ps. li. 5).

Let us turn now to the doctrine of the Messiah contained in our book. As we know that the Apostles and early believers expected the second coming of Christ to happen shortly, so Pseudo-Baruch looks for the appearance of Messiah

<sup>1</sup> "O thou Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was thou that sinned, thou art not fallen alone, but we all that come of thee" (2 Esdr. vii. 48).

in the course of a few years. In their utter dejection and distress, seated amid the ruins of their beloved Jerusalem, the sorrowing Jews could find comfort in nothing but the hope of a speedy restoration under the leadership of Messiah. The actual time of this Parousia is concealed under a veil of symbolical words; but it is to be preceded by exceeding heavy calamities, confirming the saying "that man's extremity is God's opportunity." In his vision the seer beholds a kingdom (Rome) the power of which shall be greater and more evil than any before it; and it shall rule supreme for many ages and be highly exalted; in it truth shall not dwell, but all who are stained with crime shall find refuge therein, as evil beasts hide themselves in the forest. "And it shall come to pass when the time of its fall shall approach, then the dominion of Messiah shall be revealed, and He shall root up the multitude of that kingdom" (chap. xxxix.). But before that event, "the harvest of the good seed and the bad shall come, and the Almighty will bring upon the earth and its inhabitants and upon its rulers confusion of spirit and stupor of heart. And they shall hate one another and provoke one another to battle, and the base-born shall lord over those of high degree, and the mean shall be exalted above men of renown, and the many shall be delivered to the few, and those who were nothing shall rule the mighty, and the poor shall be more than the rich, and the wicked shall be raised above the heroic, and wise men shall hold their peace and fools shall speak: the thought of men shall then not be confirmed, nor the counsel of the Almighty, nor the hope of those that hope. And when what has been foretold shall come to pass, on all men shall come confusion, and some of them shall fall by the sword in battle, and some shall perish in great tribulation, and some shall be ensnared by their own friends. But the Most High shall reveal it to those nations whom He prepared before, and they shall come and fight with the leaders who shall then remain.

And it shall come to pass that whosoever shall escape from the war shall die in the earthquake, and whosoever shall escape from the earthquake shall be consumed in the fire, and whosoever shall escape from the fire shall perish in the famine. And it shall come to pass that whosoever shall escape from all these evils, of the conquerors and of the conquered, shall be delivered into the hands of my servant Messiah. For the earth shall devour the inhabitants thereof" (chap. lxx.). Other signs are mentioned (chap. xlviii.), some of which, as we have seen above, have a striking similarity to those which our Lord foretold should usher in the last day. No safety shall anywhere be found except in the Holy Land, which "shall have pity on its own children and protect them in that day" (chap. lxxi.). And then shall Messiah begin to be revealed.

In his idea of the reign of Messiah, Pseudo-Baruch takes a different line from Esdras and other Apocalyptic writers. The common notion of a great Leader, who by a course of uninterrupted triumph should restore and enhance the glory of the depressed Israelites, does not satisfy his hopes. This is only one and a partial view of the effects of this Divine interference. The Messiah has a twofold kingdom, an earthly one which passes away, and a heavenly one which is everlasting. Such a question as that of the Apostles (Acts i. 6): "Lord, wilt Thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" spoke only of temporal restitution and sovereignty, and would not have intimated the full hope that we see to have been conceived by our seer. Of a suffering Messiah he has no notion; nor does he give any trace of the later belief in two Messiahs, a Messiah-Ben-David of whom were predicted glory and triumph, and a Messiah-Ben-Joseph to whose lot fell all the foretold sufferings and woe. His Messiah is one only person viewed at different times and under a different aspect. First He comes as the great earthly conqueror, who was to emancipate the people from the dominion of Rome, punish their enemies, and restore the Jews to more

than pristine glory. In this earthly kingdom all the Israelites who are then alive shall have their part; and while those who have oppressed them shall perish, they who have never known them or had connection with them, and they who have joined themselves unto their God as proselytes, shall be saved, being in subjection to the ancient people. This dominion shall be established in the Holy Land, when the last leader of the enemy is brought in chains to Sion, and is there condemned and executed by Messiah. The glories of this kingdom, in accordance more or less with ancient prophecy, are thus described (chap. lxxiii.): "It shall come to pass when He shall have humbled whatsoever is in the world, and sat down in peace for ever upon the throne of His kingdom, then shall He be revealed in happiness, and a great calm shall ensue. Health shall descend like dew, and sickness shall pass away, and care and distress and groaning shall no more be found among men; and joy shall pace through all the earth. No one shall die before he hath filled his days, no sudden calamity shall happen to any. Trials, accusations, contentions, revenge, bloodshed, avarice, envy, hatred, and all such things shall be utterly abolished. For these are the things which have filled this world with evil and vexed the life of men. Then the wild beasts shall come forth from the forests and minister unto men; and asps and snakes shall issue from their holes to become a little one's plaything. Women shall be delivered without pain. The reaper shall not be wearied, the builder shall feel no fatigue, for all works shall co-operate with the labourers in that time of peace." Like other Apocalyptic writers, Pseudo-Baruch represents the happiness of Messiah's kingdom under the figure of a splendid banquet, in which mighty animals shall be served up as the food of the righteous guests. The Lord says to him, chap. xxix.: "Behemoth shall be brought to light from his place, and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, two great creatures which I made on the fifth day of the



creation, and have reserved unto this time;<sup>1</sup> and then they shall be for food for them that are left. The earth also shall give her fruits, ten thousand for one." Then comes the passage about the vine (quoted by Papias) given above. He proceeds: "Those who have hungered shall be gladdened, and they shall again see prodigies daily. For spirits<sup>2</sup> shall go forth from my presence every morning to bring the odour of aromatic fruits, and at the close of day clouds dropping the dew of health. And then shall fall a second time the treasure of manna, and they shall eat thereof in those years, since these are they which have come to the end of the time."

Such is our seer's description of the earthly reign of Messiah. But we may note that in two points he differs from many of the writers of Apocalypses. First, he takes a more liberal view of the Gentile world than his contemporaries. While others were content to believe that salvation was of the Jews, and belonged to them exclusively, Pseudo-Baruch admits certain of the Gentiles to share the glories of Messiah's kingdom. Proselytes from the heathen, and any that had taken no active part in oppressing Israel, or from their remoteness of position knew nothing of God's people, would be allowed to participate in the blessings of the Messianic reign, provided that they come in humbly as subjects of the heavenly Prince. It is interesting to observe an abatement of that jealousy which so frequently meets us in the Gospels, where an extension of God's favour to the Gentiles is reprobated by the Jews as an opinion profane and detestable. Our seer has lighted upon a great truth, though he knew not its full import, how that the Christ should be not only the glory of Israel, but, as the aged Simeon believed, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See 2 Esdr. vi. 49, where instead of "Enoch," the Syr. and Ethiop. versions read "Behemoth." Book of Enoch, lix. 7 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Spiritus*; or is it "winds"?

, <sup>3</sup> Luke ii. 32; Acts xiii. 47.

The other point in which our seer differs from many Hebrew writers is this: he allows a participation in Messiah's earthly kingdom to those Jews only who are alive at His appearing. The common opinion among the Jews was that the righteous dead should rise from the grave to inherit His glory: this was to be their privilege; they were to obtain part in the first resurrection, which was quite distinct from the general resurrection at the day of judgment. Of this opinion Pseudo-Baruch makes no mention. "Messiah," he says, "shall protect the people who are found in the appointed place," *i.e.* Sion.<sup>1</sup>

How long this earthly kingdom is supposed to last is nowhere distinctly stated. The seer speaks of the time of Messiah's appearance being fulfilled (chap. xxx.), before He returns again in glory, but he does not assign any definite period to His earthly sojourn. The notion of a reign of a thousand years, which is generally supposed to have originated in Judaism and to have passed from thence to Christianity, does not appear in our book. There is a passage in Esdras<sup>2</sup> which reckons the duration at four hundred years. This is probably derived from the consideration that the period of affliction in Egypt was to be compensated by a similar period of refreshment and rest. But Pseudo-Baruch gives no confirmation to this opinion. Nor does he assert with Esdras<sup>3</sup> that Messiah shall die. He passes over this event in silence, and proceeds to picture His return in glory in the fulness of time. At His coming all men shall rise again, not Jews only but all men, and not the righteous only but sinners also. "To the dust it shall be said, Restore that which is not thine, and place thou here all that thou hast kept safe till now" (chap. xlii.). "And the storehouses<sup>4</sup> shall be opened wherein have been kept the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. 2 Esdr. vi. 25, ix. 8, xiii. 16 ff., 49.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Esdr. vii. 28. Comp. Gen. xv. 13 and Ps. xc. 15.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Esdr. vii. 29: "After these years shall my Son Christ die." This clause is wanting in the Arabic version, but there is no reason to doubt its genuineness.

<sup>4</sup> *Promptuaria*. The word often occurs in 2 Esdr. in the same connection.

souls of the righteous, and they shall come forth, and the multitude of souls shall appear in one concordant assembly, and the first shall rejoice and the last shall not be sad, for they shall know that the end of all the times has come. But the souls of sinners, when they shall see all these things, shall pine away the more; for they know that their punishment has come and the hour of their damnation" (chap. xxx.). "The earth shall restore the dead which it had to keep, changing nothing in their form; but as it received them so it shall restore them, and as I [the Lord] have committed them unto it, thus shall it place them before Me. And they shall recognise each other" (chap. l.). Here again Pseudo-Baruch is not in agreement with the usual opinion of his contemporaries. Josephus<sup>1</sup> asserts that the Pharisees believed that the souls of the righteous alone would rise again, while the wicked would remain in prison everlastingly, suffering there eternal punishment. This dogma probably could not be truly predicated of all Pharisees,<sup>2</sup> but it was undoubtedly held by a large majority of Jews. The Book of Enoch,<sup>3</sup> which represents the current belief, teaches that the souls of sinners shall suffer vengeance without being united again to their bodies, but the righteous shall be raised, body and soul, to participate in the blessings of Messiah's reign. And such, with certain modifications, was the opinion that generally obtained in these and later times; while Pseudo-Baruch teaches that synchronally with Messiah's return shall be the general resurrection, the judgment, and the eternal reign. Whether the period between the first and second advent of Messiah corresponds with the millennium of St. John in Rev. xx. is a question which we cannot now discuss. That no mention of the first resurrection is made in our book is a fact which separates it from Jewish and Christian speculations. One thing is plain, that what

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* xviii. 1. 3; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Comp. Acts* xxiv. 15. Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr. in Matt.* xxii. 29, and in *Joh.* vi. 36.

<sup>3</sup> See xcvi. ciii. cviii.

others call the second or general resurrection is the great event which Pseudo-Baruch foresees as appertaining to Messiah's second appearance in glory.

In presenting the details of this resurrection, the seer says, as St. Paul, that all will be changed, the aspect of the evil becoming more horrible, and that of the righteous more glorious; the one being transformed to the splendour of the angels, the other terror-stricken by fearful sights and visions; the one made bright and beautiful to receive the blessings of the eternal world, the other tantalized with the sight of the blessed and sent away to punishment.<sup>1</sup> On the subject of the happiness of the saved he enlarges in many passages. "They shall see the world which is now invisible to them; they shall see the time which is now hidden from them. And time shall never more grow old to them; for they shall dwell in the high places of that world, and shall be like unto the angels and equal to the stars, and shall be transformed into all the beauty that they can desire, and changed from light unto the radiance of glory. In their sight shall be unfolded the breadths of Paradise, and there shall be displayed before them the comeliness of the majesty of the living creatures which are beneath the throne,<sup>2</sup> and all the hosts of angels who now are holden by My word from being seen, and holden by My command that they should stay in their own places till the time of their appearance is come. Thus the excellency of the righteous shall surpass that of the angels. For the first shall succeed the last, those for whom they waited, and the last those whom they heard to have passed away; and they have been delivered from this world of sorrow, and have laid down the weight of care." If it might seem an extravagant belief in the mouth of a Jew that, admitted to the life beyond the grave, he should be more

<sup>1</sup> Chaps. xxxii. li.

<sup>2</sup> These are elsewhere (chap. xxi.) called "the powers that stand before God," and seem to mean the highest angels, the seven mentioned Tob. xii. 15 and Rev. viii. 2.

excellent than the angels, yet his hope is far inferior to that of the Christian. We are told that we shall see God, behold "the King in His beauty." The Jewish prophet holds out no hope of this blessed vision. The righteous shall see highest orders of angels, and all the hosts of heaven, yea, the glory of God, the light in which He dwells; but Himself no eye of man, however holy and blessed, shall behold.<sup>1</sup>

The scene of this happiness is the new world which God shall create especially for His true servants. And that the prophecies of the glory of Jerusalem may be rightly understood, the seer is taught that the earthly city may be destroyed once and again, but it shall be renewed in glory, and receive an everlasting crown (chap. xxxii.). "Dost thou remember," says the Lord, "what that city is of which I said, 'I have graven thee upon the palm of my hands'?" No earthly city this, but a heavenly, mystic one, prepared before the world was made, shown to Adam before he fell in Paradise, but withdrawn, as Eden itself, after he had sinned.<sup>2</sup> Abraham, too, beheld it when he kept watch between his victims slain; and to Moses it was revealed on Mount Sinai, when he received the communication touching the Tabernacle and its appurtenances. Since then it has been kept in the secret place of God till the time for its disclosure should arrive.<sup>3</sup> This glorious city shall be the abode of the righteous. But the seer, unlike St. John, attempts not to describe its splendours; no revelation of these particulars is made unto him, and he leaves it in its beauty a wonder and a mystery. The Paradise in which he locates both the throne of God and the home of the blessed, is not the place in the other world

<sup>1</sup> So in the Book of Enoch, xiv. 8. 2 Esdr. vi. 64 (Fr.): "Primo vident in gaudio multo gloriam Altissimi qui assumit eas."

<sup>2</sup> In 2 Esdr. iii. 6, Paradise is said to have been created before the earth.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Esdr. vii. 26: "The bride (or city) shall appear, and she coming forth shall be seen, that now is withdrawn from the earth." xiii. 36: "Sion shall come, and shall be showed to all men, being prepared and builded." Comp. Rev. xxi. 2.

where the souls of the just await the day of judgment, which was its usual signification among the Jews, but heaven itself, and, as one would suppose, the so-called third heaven. St. Paul, in the account of his own rapture (2 Cor. xii.), seems to make a distinction between Paradise and the third heaven, speaking of being on one occasion "caught up even to the third heaven," and on another, "being caught up into Paradise." But in this, as in some other points before noticed, Pseudo-Baruch does not adhere closely to the received opinion, but follows another tradition, or takes an original view.

With regard to the punishment of the wicked, the seer holds this opinion. They shall first see the glory of the righteous, and then shall be led away to punishment,—their home shall be in the eternal fire (chap. xlv.). Of the annihilation of the condemned other writers have spoken;<sup>1</sup> but nothing of the kind is found in our book. Sinners are said, indeed, to waste away ("tabescere"), but this is only an expression to characterize their torment, which they are transfigured to endure.<sup>2</sup>

Such are the chief points of interest in this book; and they are useful in many ways, but chiefly as conveying instruction on the tenets and expectations of the Jews about the period of the first Christian century, and exhibiting the contrast between real and spurious revelations.

WILLIAM J. DEANE.

<sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Clem. *Hom.* iii. 6: *τίνας γὰρ τίς ἀπὸ οὐκ ἔχει δύναμιν αἱ τίς τὸν ἀπὸ καὶ μέγας ἀεισέθεντις θίει.* Thus also, *Ascens. Isai.* iv. 18.

<sup>2</sup> "Fiet enim aspectus eorum qui nunc impie agunt pejor quam est, ut sustineant supplicium."—Chap. li.

## THE PATRIARCHAL TIMES.

## II.—THE APPEARING OF MAN.

If a high degree of interest attaches to questions connected with the origin of the world, and the method of its cosmical arrangement, a fascination scarcely less absorbing clusters round the subject of man's introduction to this previously-prepared planet. At what point in the sublime procession of ages through which, according to both science and revelation, the earth advanced from primeval chaos to that finished cosmos which met the gaze of its first human inhabitant—at what epoch in the unrecorded history of this globe—did man for the first time step upon the scene? Was it at a period comparatively recent, a period measured, let us say, by several thousands of years? or was it at a date in the remote past whose distance can be reckoned only by the sweep of centuries? By what power, too, and through what process was he produced? Did he spring spontaneously from the soil, according to the fancy of classical fable? Was he evolved from some pre-existing ape or ascidian, as some modern scientists allege? or did he owe his birth and being to a special act of creation, as the sacred Scriptures affirm? The reply to the first of these inquiries will lift into prominence the much-debated question of the *antiquity* of man; the answer furnished to the second will necessitate consideration of the scarcely less agitated problem of the *origin* of man. Never perhaps have these topics been handled with greater energy and ability than at present by both devotees of science and students of revelation; never certainly was there more need than now for a calm and dispassionate weighing of evidence on these momentous themes, and that too on the part of both classes of inquirers.

1. *The date of man's appearance* on the earth is by the Mosaic record, which again may be allowed to lead, though not to control investigation, definitely fixed as the latter half of the sixth creative day, after the production of the larger land animals.<sup>1</sup> It in no degree militates against the accuracy of this assertion that, in another portion of the same narrative,<sup>2</sup> man appears to have been summoned into existence earlier than the beasts of the field, the fact rather than the time of the creation of the animals being that which the historian in his second account desires to emphasize. Yet the statement does not help in determining, even approximately, the birth hour of humanity; since data are entirely wanting for measuring with exactitude the length of the creative days. Nor is it possible by counting backwards to reckon with certainty the ages that have elapsed since man became a denizen of earth. Hebrew chronology, it is well known, is a variable quantity. The period from Adam to the Deluge has been differently computed; by the Genesis original at 1656, by the Greek translation at 2262, and by Josephus at 2256 years. The interval from the Deluge to Abram has been estimated by the Hebrew text at 367, and by the Septuagint version at 1017 years; that from Abram to the Exodus has been put down by Josephus and the LXX. at 430, by Kalisch and others at 730 years; while that from the Exodus to Christ has been rated by Ussher at 1491, by Petavius at 1531, by Jackson at 1593, and by Hales at 1648 years. Adding together the smallest figures in each period for the one extreme and the largest figures for the other, and appending to both the years of the Christian era, 1889, it will become apparent that, according to the biblical account, the continuance of man upon the earth has been not less than 5833, and not more than 7546 years. Of course no claim to absolute accuracy can be advanced for such a mode of reckoning. It is simply a rough and ready method of striking a balance

<sup>1</sup> Gen. i. 26.<sup>2</sup> Gen. ii. 19.



between diverging calculations ; and yet it may with fairness be adopted, provisionally at least, until some better system of biblical chronology can be devised, as the best answer that can be extracted from Scripture concerning the period of man's duration on the earth.

The general correctness of this answer derives confirmation from the recently-ascertained fact that the authentic histories of the oldest nations do not travel farther back than between 30 and 40 centuries B.C. at the utmost, whilst the probability is that they do not reach so far. The earliest date assigned to Menes the first Egyptian king, that advocated by Mariette and Lenormant, 5004 B.C., is now abandoned by the best Egyptologists, Brugsch adopting as the probable date of the first dynasty of sovereigns, 4455 B.C. ; Lepsius, 3892 B.C. ; Bunsen, in his earlier view, 3623 B.C., in his later, 3059 B.C. ; Poole, 2717 B.C. ; and Wilkinson, 2691 B.C., with the last two of whom Rawlinson agrees,<sup>1</sup> though a recent writer, Harkness, returns to the estimate of Lepsius, 3800 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Similar results are obtained from the study of the monumental history of ancient Babylonia. The annals of Assurbanipal,<sup>3</sup> an Assyrian monarch who flourished about 668-625 B.C., the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, mention an invasion of Babylonia by an Elamite conqueror, Kudurnanhundi, which occurred 1635 years earlier, *i.e.* some time between 2303-2260 B.C. A remarkable corroboration of the reliability of this calculation has been derived by Dr. Julius Oppert from the *Annals of Sargon*,<sup>4</sup> engraved upon the halls of Khorsabad, which furnish a true chronology of Babylon after the Berosian canon, and make allusion to "a period of sin, or lunar period which ended in B.C. 712." This lunar period the eminent Assyriologist just named has proved to be an eclipse epoch containing

<sup>1</sup> "Egyptian Civilization," *Leisure Hour*, February 1876.

<sup>2</sup> *Egyptian Life and History*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Records of the Past*, vol. i. p. 90 ; cf. vol. iii. p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Records of the Past*, vol. vii. pp. 21-24.

22,325 Synodical months, or 1805 years. This computation has again enabled him to fix with mathematical certainty the date of the Median dynasty in Babylon at B.C. 2517 (712 + 1805). But according to Berosus, the Elamite invasion happened 234 years later. Deducting therefore 234 from 2517, we reach the date of 2283 B.C., which corresponds with that already ascertained from the Assurbanipal texts. Hence if Kudurnanhundi was the ancestor of the Chedorlaomer of Scripture, and of the Kudur Mabuk of the inscriptions (Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen<sup>1</sup> identifies the two latter; Professor Sayce<sup>2</sup> regards them as having been brothers), it will be obvious that about the time of Abraham the chronologies of the Babylonian and Hebrew records converge. Nor though ancient Accadian history should be regarded as having commenced with Sargon I,<sup>3</sup> the Chaldean Moses who, like the Hebrew lawgiver, was concealed after birth, exposed in a wicker cradle on the river Euphrates, and subsequently rescued by a water-carrier named Akki, but who, on reaching manhood, ascended the throne of his country in B.C. 3800, and carried his arms far and wide, penetrating to "the sea of the setting sun" (the Mediterranean), and carving his image on its rocky coast—not even on this assumption will it travel far beyond the larger date assigned by Hebrew chronology for the flood. Then, pushing farther east to the vast Empires of India and China, it is satisfactory to note that the most competent writers do not claim for them an antiquity of more than 2000 or 3000 years. Professor Max Müller, the highest living authority on all matters relating to Indian chronology, states that the commencement of the Vedic literature, and so of Indian civilization, does not require to be placed further back than the beginning of the twelfth century B.C.,<sup>4</sup> whilst Dr.

<sup>1</sup> *British Museum Lectures*, 3rd Lecture, December 17, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Records of the Past*, vol. v. p. 56; *Babylonian Life and History* (Budge), p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> *Sanscrit Literature*, p. 572; cf. *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. i. p. 13.

Edkins, who occupies a similar position with reference to Chinese literature and history, affirms<sup>1</sup> that "there is nothing in the Chinese classics which demands a longer period for the presence of the Chinese in their own country than 2800 years." Thus it would seem that not only is there no disharmony, but rather a large amount of agreement between the views propounded in the Hebrew Scriptures and those set forth in the historical records of other peoples, so far as these have been investigated, concerning the date of man's appearance on the earth: Unless, therefore, from some other quarter evidence can be adduced compelling us to set aside this united testimony, it may be held as in the highest degree probable that the human period in the history of this globe has not extended far over eight or nine, or at most ten thousand years.

Exactly, however, of the kind demanded, is, in the judgment of not a few, the evidence which science offers. With much confidence in the truth of its allegations, it asserts that such views as would restrict man's duration on the earth to a period of even 10,000 years are wholly inadequate; that the time required for the distribution of mankind and the development of its races, assuming all to have proceeded from a primal pair, cannot be restrained within so contracted a limit; that the laws which regulate the formation of language demand a much more protracted interval for the evolution and consolidation of the many tongues which belong to men; and that, above all, the incontrovertible evidence of late years brought to light by geological research renders it imperative to believe that man has been a denizen of earth, certainly long, perhaps incalculable ages, antecedent to the time spoken of by the Hebrew Bible. Until recently it was thought that geology had signally confirmed the correctness of the scriptural account by showing that fossiliferous remains of man were confined almost exclusively to what is known as the recent or human period in the earth's development. Now, however, it

<sup>1</sup> "The Antiquity of the Chinese," *Leisure Hour*, October 1876.

is maintained that sufficient evidence exists to establish man's presence on the globe at a much earlier date, in what is usually styled the Pleistocene, Post-Pleiocene or Glacial Period, the Great Ice Age, which, beginning at the close of the Tertiary Period, continued, with at least one interval of warmer climate, up to the Recent or Human Period, and which by its arctic rigours is sometimes supposed to have killed off the larger animals of the Mammoth Age, such as the *Rhinoceros trichorinus*, the *Elephas antiquus*, the *Hippopotamus major*, the wild boar, and the cave hyena, though the destruction of these megatheria may perhaps more successfully be ascribed to an amelioration of the climate in consequence of the passing away of the Ice Age.<sup>1</sup> The grounds upon which such extreme antiquity is claimed for man, as set forth by Sir Charles Lyell,<sup>2</sup> Sir John Lubbock,<sup>3</sup> Professor Geikie,<sup>4</sup> and others, are principally the exhumation of manufactured implements of flint and stone, together with human remains, from peat mosses and raised beaches belonging to the Recent or Human Period, and the discovery of similar remains in cave deposits containing bones of extinct mammalia, and on that account adjudged to be Post-Pliocene formations. "In other words," says Professor Alleyne Nicholson,<sup>5</sup> "man's existence dates back to a time when several remarkable mammals had not yet become extinct," and as these extinct mammals with which man coexisted "are referable in many cases to species which presumably required a very different climate to that now prevailing in Western Europe," it has been inferred that man must have come upon the scene many thousands of years earlier than has commonly been supposed. As to the premises from which this deduction is made, there does not seem to be room for doubt. That stone knives and flint

<sup>1</sup> Geikie's *Text-Book of Geology*, p. 894.

<sup>2</sup> *The Antiquity of Man*, chaps. ii.-xix.

<sup>3</sup> *Prehistoric Times*, chap. ix. x.

<sup>4</sup> *The Great Ice Age*, chap. xxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> *Manual of Palæontology*, vol. ii. pp. 422, 423.

hatchets, along with bones of men and extinct mammals, have been exhumed from alluvial plains, raised beaches, and cave deposits, it is impossible to deny. It is only when attempts are made to fix the age of the so-called Post-Pleiocene Period in which these palæolithic implements and bones have been found that an element of uncertainty enters. "Stratigraphically the beds" containing these remains "are newer than the newest deposits of the Tertiary Period; nay, more, they do not even pass the horizon of the latest boulder clay;" but "as they are all superficial, it is evident that their stratigraphical position gives no data newer than that of their deposition."<sup>1</sup> Hence to determine their age recourse must be had to "analogies and comparisons which may be disputed." This is frankly conceded even by those scientists who adhere to the view of their extreme antiquity. Sir Charles Lyell honestly avows that the minimum of time required for the extinction in the district of Liège of the carnivorous and herbivorous animals of the Cave Period, for the growth of peat in the valley of the Somme, and generally for the changes in physical geography that have taken place since the close of the Tertiary Period, cannot be determined.<sup>2</sup> Professor Geikie also writes that "it is hardly possible to arrange the Post-Tertiary deposits in a strictly chronological order, because we have no means of deciding, in many cases, their relative antiquity."<sup>3</sup> Similar acknowledgments might be cited from equally competent investigators.<sup>4</sup> It is true that, while making these admissions, the scientists referred to are unanimous in claiming for man an antiquity reaching far beyond the boundaries of biblical chronology, even when these have been stretched to the utmost; but the dispassionate inquirer,

<sup>1</sup> *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, April 1867, art. "The Antiquity of Man," p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> *The Antiquity of Man*, pp. 74, 111.

<sup>3</sup> *Text-Book of Geology*, p. 883.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Nicholson, *Man. of Palæont.* vol. ii. p. 423; Page, *The Philosophy of Geology*, p. 117.

discerning that such a claim rests not upon clearly-established conclusions, but only upon conjectural calculations as to the age of certain cave deposits,—which, after all, may be wrong,—may reasonably hold himself entitled to pause before casting aside as utterly unworthy the results arrived at by a comparison of biblical and archæological records, and all the more that so capable a critic as Principal Dawson, who, besides having been trained in the school of Lyell, has himself examined with much care “the deposits of the more modern periods on both sides of the Atlantic,” thus concludes a careful and painstaking investigation into the probable past duration of man upon the earth: “We require to make great demands on time for the pre-human period of the earth’s history, but not more than sacred history is willing to allow for the modern or human age.”<sup>1</sup>

2. The *mode of man’s appearance* on the earth is in the Mosaic narrative ascribed to a direct and immediate act of creation: “And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. . . . So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them.”<sup>2</sup> The specific manner in which this creation was effected is more particularly represented in the subsequent account which modern criticism usually assigns to the Jehovist redactor or reviser of the Genesis original: “And the Lord God formed man, dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul;”<sup>3</sup> the formation of woman being described in an after-piece which exhibits the Lord God as first casting Adam into a deep sleep, next as extracting from his side a rib, and finally as fashioning it into one who should prove an helpmeet for him.<sup>4</sup> Whatever views be entertained as to the authorship of these seemingly divergent sketches, it is apparent that they harmonize in the central thought that man owes his first appearance on this globe to a direct forthputting of

<sup>1</sup> *The Origin of the World*, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. ii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. i. 26, 27.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. ii. 21, 22.

Divine creative energy. Though the earth—"dust from the ground"—was in his case, no less than in that of the lower animals, the point of departure for the process of making, the manifest implication of both accounts is that the dust of the ground could not have evolved itself into a man without supernatural assistance. Even should it be conceded that the language of the second account is not incompatible with the notion that man, in so far as he is an animal, may have been produced, not at once by an express creative fiat, but by a slow process of natural development, it is still the teaching of the Hebrew writer that the inspiration of Jehovah was necessary to elevate the creature which the mysterious machinery of nature had fashioned to the rank and dignity of a living soul, i.e. in his case of a conscious personality. It is doubtful, however, if this concession is legitimate, though it is occasionally offered in the interest of evolution theories.<sup>1</sup> Since the lower animals are, equally with men, styled *Nephesh Chayah*, living souls, it would seem to be the object of the Hebrew narrator to distinguish the "living soul," man, from the "living soul," the lower creature, by directing attention to the different methods of their formation. Had man, as to his corporeal and psychical nature, been, in the initial stage of his production, simply an evolved or improved animal, he would, according to Hebrew conceptions, have been a *Nephesh Chayah*, or a living soul even prior to the inbreathing by Jehovah into his nostrils of the breath of life. But the explicit statement of the Mosaic record is that he did not become a living soul until that act of inspiration occurred; hence it does not seem admissible to concede that the sacred writer may have held a doctrine of modified evolution. Possibly such a doctrine is the only one tenable if the findings of present-day science are not to be wholly set aside; only it cannot be shown by legitimate exegesis that such a view of man's formation is, or may be, included in the words of Old Testament Scripture. If honestly interpreted, these words

<sup>1</sup> *The Theological Library*: "Does Science aid Faith?" p. 195.

signify, not that man, having been first evolved from an ape or an ascidian, was subsequently endowed with a higher nature by the inbreathing of the Spirit of God, but that man's corporeal frame was fashioned from the dust of the ground and afterwards animated with a living soul by the breathing into his nostrils of the breath of life.

But is such an account of man's origin credible in face of the latest scientific teaching, the teaching of Lamark and Oken, of Darwin and Huxley, of Lyell, Lubbock, and Hæckel, not to mention others, that man has by slow and imperceptible stages been developed from the inferior animals? The chief reasons which have led to the adoption of such a theory of man's origin are—(1) the alleged antiquity of man's appearance upon the earth; (2) the so-called incontestable proofs that man has everywhere emerged from a state of barbarism; (3) the doctrine, believed by its advocates to be established, of the transmutation of species; and (4) the admitted resemblance of man's physical frame to that of the lower creatures. The first of these sufficient evidences of man's descent from the brute creation has been disposed of in the preceding pages; the second will be referred to in considering the question of man's primeval condition; the third and fourth are of such a character as to call for a word of comment now.

With regard to the former, the doctrine of the transmutation of species, i.e. of the production of distinctly new kinds of creatures out of previously-existing animals, it may be freely admitted that, if the fact of such transmutation could be established with reference to inferior organisms, it would be difficult, as Sir Charles Lyell justly contends,<sup>1</sup> to deny its applicability to man. Accordingly Darwin, having, as he supposed, made good the premiss in his earlier work styled *The Origin of Species*, does not hesitate in his later volume, *The Descent of Man*, to show how by means of natural and sexual selection the task of evolving man from a small mollusc called the ascidian has been effected, stating at the

<sup>1</sup> *The Antiquity of Man*, pp. 472, 473.



same time the conclusion at which his investigations have enabled him to arrive, that "man is (immediately) descended from a hairy quadruped, furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in its habits, and an inhabitant of the old world."<sup>1</sup> It is, however, idle to pretend that the necessary premiss has in any valid sense been substantiated. "That any organism can ever produce another which varies from itself in any truly specific character," writes the Duke of Argyle,<sup>2</sup> "is an assumption not justified by any known fact." "After much consideration, and with assuredly no bias against Mr. Darwin's views, it is our clear conviction," says Huxley,<sup>3</sup> "that, as the evidence stands, it is not absolutely proven that a group of animals, having all the characters exhibited by species in nature, has ever been originated by selection, whether artificial or natural." Certainly no instance has been discovered of any such origination of a new species in the Modern or Human Period of the earth's history, and the palæolithic remains of earlier periods are equally silent as to any such method of animal production. Indeed, as Principal Dawson has observed,<sup>4</sup> the drift of geological testimony is to show that species came into the world *per saltum*, rather than by a process of gradual development. At least, Palæontology has been able to furnish no example of a new species that did not emerge upon the theatre of existence in a state of perfect and complete organization. Had any transitional forms existed, as *e.g.* between molluscs and fishes, it is more than probable that some of them would have been preserved in contemporaneous deposits; their complete absence from all fossiliferous strata in the Pre-human no less than in the Recent Period, can only point to one conclusion, that such missing links never in reality existed.

Then the admitted correspondences between man's anatomical

<sup>1</sup> *The Descent of Man*, Part i. p. 213; cf. Hæckel's *Evolution of Man*, vol. ii. p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> *Primeval Man*, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Lay Sermons*, p. 323.

<sup>4</sup> *The Origin of the World*, p. 373; cf. *Primeval Man*, p. 45.

structure and that of some of the lower creatures, *e.g.* the ape, has been supposed by Darwin<sup>1</sup> to justify the inference that the former has been evolved from the latter. But although it should be granted, as Huxley claims, that "man in all parts of his organization differs less from the higher apes than these do from the lower members of the same group," it remains that the theory of evolution fails to supply a satisfactory explanation of the higher moral and spiritual nature which man possesses in contradistinction from every species of monkey. When Mr. Darwin<sup>2</sup> deliberately announces it, as the scientific residuum of his investigations, that "the feeling of religious devotion in man is the ultimate development of the feeling experienced by a dog towards its master, or a monkey to its beloved keeper," readers may be excused for thinking that in some human beings at least the religious faculty has not yet been evolved.

Scarcely less preposterous, and certainly not more convincing, are the attempts<sup>3</sup> to show how man's ape-like progenitor succeeded in taking the first step towards the formation of a language, and how he eventually rose to the dignity of possessing a moral sense. But waiving these, and restricting attention to man's physical structure, it must always be a problem for the evolution theory to account for the chasm, in respect of size, which divides the brain of man from that of the gorilla. Accepting Professor Schaafhausen's statement that some Hindoo skulls have as small a capacity as about 46 cubic inches, and Professor Huxley's that the largest cranium of any gorilla yet measured contained 34·5 cubic inches,<sup>4</sup> it may be asked why any such impassable gulf should have established itself between man and the gorilla, if in all essential respects they belonged to the same order of creature? Why should a brain bulk of 34·5 inches and under mark out a brute beast, and one of 46 inches and upwards indicate a

<sup>1</sup> *The Descent of Man*, Part i. p. 10 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Part i. p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Part i. pp. 56, 71.

<sup>4</sup> *The Antiquity of Man*, p. 84.

man? That beasts possessing brains of 34·5 inches are incapable of such improvement as is revealed in man is undeniable; why should a difference of 11 cubic inches in the size of the cranium determine its possessor to be susceptible of almost infinite progress? The Duke of Argyle<sup>1</sup> replies with force and justice that the only possible answer to these interrogations is that the two beings, man and the gorilla, are fundamentally distinct. Nor is this the hardest problem that the evolution theory must solve, before it can command universal acceptance. In particular, it must explain why the impersonal *vis naturæ* evolved only a human being from the antecedent ape; why, since man has existed for incalculable ages (on this hypothesis), no other ape has exhibited a tendency to develop upwards into a human being; and, finally, why the process of evolution has stopped with man. The pertinence and force of the last of these objections is recognised by John Fiske, the author of *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, who, in a small volume<sup>2</sup> lately published, seeks to show that no higher creature than man, zoologically considered, can ever appear upon the earth. "In the regions of unconditioned possibility," he writes, "it is open to any one to argue, if he chooses, that such a creature may come to exist; but the Darwinian theory is utterly opposed to any such conclusion." The evidence, however, which he offers in support of this statement is not so much a demonstration that no further evolution in the direction of physical variation is possible, as an assertion of that which calls for proof, viz. that "the process of zoological change has come to an end," and "a process of psychological change" taken its place. What is still required to be shown is, why the upward movement along "this supreme line of generation," that of the bodily life, should have ceased.

T. WHITELOW.

<sup>1</sup> *Primeval Man*, pp. 56, 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Man's Destiny viewed in the Light of his Origin*, chap. iii.

## THE EMPIRE OF CHRIST.

EPH. IV. 9, 10.

## I.

WE must not imagine that these words are isolated from the context of the chapter which contains them; they are not only an integral part of the chapter, they are the nucleus of the whole argument round which the Epistle to the Ephesians revolves. The design of that Epistle, as we conceive it, was to break down within the Church the tendency to excessive individualism; in other words, to impress men with the belief that there *was* a Church—a collective whole of which each member was only a fragment. The first and inevitable tendency of Christianity had been to awaken each man to the thought of *himself*—to cause the individual to feel the awful responsibility of *being* an individual, the solemn sense of being an isolated human soul destined to live for ever, and bound in the life eternal to give an account of the things done in the body. It could not be otherwise than that in the first breaking of the chain of tradition the individual man should realize with even an exaggerated power the sense of his own freedom, and it could not be otherwise than that the first experience of his sense of freedom should have been an experience of pain. But with the advance of Christian development there was to come a change, or at least a modification, of this view. It was necessary that the individual man should be taught that his sense of isolation was a delusion, that he did not in reality stand alone, that so far from being an isolated unit in the midst of a vast universe he was in truth but one member of a vast body whose every other member was linked indissolubly to himself. He was not really called upon to strive and suffer alone; he was called upon to realize the fact

that his life was but one part of an immense organism which was partaker of his strifes and sorrows, and to whose own strifes and sorrows he himself was heir. Such is the burden of the Epistle to the Ephesians—an Epistle whose immediate tendency is at one and the same moment both to exalt and to humble. It exalts humanity by proving that it is not a series of fragments, but a collective universal whole, and in the very proof of this it humbles by showing that the individual in himself is nothing, and that he can only find his being in the surrender of his personal aims.

It is this latter aspect of the question which specially tinges the fourth chapter of this Epistle. The transition from the exaltation to the humility is marked by the word *therefore*. Paul says that if believers collectively are to constitute the fulness of Christ, it follows that believers individually must give up their sense of fulness; they can only become a majestic whole by realizing themselves as insignificant parts. Accordingly, the first requisite to their collective union is their sense of individual humbleness, their power to sacrifice their personal interest to a recognition of the common good. This is the thought directly conveyed in the opening verses of the chapter: "That ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love." The empire which humanity is to reach collectively is to be reached only through individual sacrifice. And St. Paul tells the Ephesians they are not to imagine that there is anything accidental about this law. So far from being accidental, he declares that it applies to the Divine Head of the body as strongly as to the human members. If Christ as an individual has attained to universal empire, He has attained to that empire only by reason of His stooping, and in proportion as He has stooped His exaltation has been the result of His humiliation; the height to which He has risen has been measured precisely by the depth to which He has sunk: "Now that He ascended,

what is it but that He also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things."

This, then, is the subject of the passage before us—the exaltation of Christ's humiliation. The design of the Apostle is to show that the empire of the Son of man differs from the empires of the sons of men in that it is founded not upon physical strength but upon what the world would call a basis of weakness. Let us try to open up more fully this idea of the Apostle. Standing as he did in the heart of the Roman empire in the meridian of its imperial glory, his thoughts were naturally directed to the elements which constituted the secret of imperialism. Looking around him on every side, he seemed to behold an empire which *filled all things*. He appeared to be looking upon a power which had actually stretched itself over the length and the breadth, the height and the depth of the civilized and uncivilized world, and the man who stood at the summit of this power might be metaphorically said to have ascended above all things. But when Paul looked deeper, he saw that this first appearance was a delusion. He perceived that this Roman empire with all its extent and with all its greatness came short of absolute dominion, that in point of fact it did not fill all things. When he looked deeper still, he perceived also the reason of this. He found that this Roman empire was only great in one direction; it had the telescope but not the microscope. There were within it both heights and depths, but the men who stood on the heights were not the men who had ever dwelt in the depths; he that *ascended* was not the same as he that *descended*. There was a great gulph fixed between the mountains and the valleys of social life, so that no man could pass from the one to the other. The empire encircled within its chain of dominion the poor as well as the rich, but it encircled the poor only within its *chain*. It had no binding force of love, no bond of sympathetic interest wherewith to connect the different ranks of

men. Its ideal was power, and it revered the men of power. It had no garland for the sufferer, however patient might be his suffering; no crown for the physically weak, however heroic might be his support of that weakness. The result was that its dominion was after all a limited dominion. It left outside its pale the lives and circumstances of by far the larger portion of humanity, and was unable to take any account of the most common type of men; it did not fill all things.

Within this Roman empire existed a shadow of that form of government which had once constituted the theocratic empire of Judæa, and it was natural that the mind of Paul should revert from the one to the other. In the idea of the theocratic empire of Judaism there were involved three elements—the dominion of the prophet, the dominion of the priest, and the dominion of the king. Each of these elements had failed to realize the ideal of an absolute empire—of an empire which filled all things. The king had been nominally an absolute power, because he had been the representative of the God of Israel. Yet the power of the king was only nominally absolute; it did not even in idea fill all things. The theocratic kingdom of Israel was essentially a kingdom over the *nation*; it did not extend to the life of the individual. It contemplated the Jewish race not as an enumeration of men and women, but as a collection of tribes and families. It legislated for the mass. It aimed at the realization of a great commonwealth, but it contemplated that commonwealth purely from the national side. It made no provision for the wants and woes of the individual man, nor did it concern itself with these wants and woes, provided that thereby the life of the whole was perfected. It was therefore in its very idea a limited conception, reaching out to the great but failing to embrace the lowly; it did not fill all things.

The priest stood ideally at the opposite remove from the king. If the king represented the idea of the national *power*,

the priest represented the idea of the national weakness, and this itself involved a recognition of the claims of the individual. The priest derived his authority and his influence from the fact that he ministered to the pains of a violated conscience, that he made a temporary atonement for the sins committed by each man. Yet neither was this an absolute authority; it was rather a power to express the common sense of moral weakness. The priest was himself in the same condemnation; the atonement which he made for the people had to include also his own life. In this case he that descended was not the same as he that ascended. The priest as such never rose above the attitude of humility, was never designed to rise above it. He was intended perpetually to represent humanity in one aspect, and one aspect alone—in its experience of suffering and its sense of sin. His influence over the people was an influence which could only endure so long as the people were oppressed and downtrodden by the consciousness of their own corruption, and which must inevitably wane when that sense of moral corruption passed away; this empire did not fill all things.

The prophet possessed an influence distinct in its nature from that of either the king or priest. The empire of the king had its foundation in the national greatness, the empire of the priest had its seat in the national weakness. The prophet was commissioned to address men from the standpoint of human equality. His empire was essentially an empire of revelation; his power lay in speaking to the hearts of men, in influencing their intellects, in dominating their wills. The king was above the people: he addressed them from a height. The priest was below the people; he was ideally and symbolically the bearer of all their sins; he addressed them from the depths. The prophet was on a level with the people: he spoke to them as fellow-men, who were sharers in the same humanity, and capable of receiving the same revelation; he addressed them from a common platform. Yet for this very



reason the empire of the prophet was equally limited. The weapons which it wielded were purely mental weapons, and therefore they could only be wielded over mental qualities. The prophet had no authority whatever except over minds potentially kindred to his own. He could only influence natures which were receptive of the same impressions by which he himself had been moulded. His audience was therefore a limited one. His position was that of an educated man speaking to the educated in an age when education is confined to the few. The prophet's habitual confession was : " Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed ? " To the great mass of the people his message was a sealed book. It spoke to capacities which as yet were dormant, it appealed to sympathies which as yet were non-existent ; this empire also, like that of the priest and of the king, failed to fill all things.

Now, in contrast to all these empires, the eye of the Apostle rested on that of the Son of Man. Here for the first time he beheld a union of opposite elements. The dominion of the king had been the antithesis to that of the priest, because the king had represented the heights, and the priest had represented the depths ; he that ascended had been a different person from him who had descended. But in the empire of the Son of Man, the Apostle saw for the first time a meeting of the heights and the depths, a union of the priest and the king. He saw an empire which had risen into dominion by the conquest of the *hearts* of men, and which had conquered their hearts in the only way in which they can be conquered—by stooping. The Christ whom he beheld on a throne of exalted glory was to his view exalted just because He had abased Himself ; His exaltation was the direct measure of His humiliation, He had ascended because He had descended. He had united the offices of the prophet, the priest, and the king, because He had possessed the regal strength to take the servant's form, and thereby had placed

Himself on a level from which He could make His revelation intelligible to all.

Here, then, is a new conception of empire, a conception which contemplates the possibility of a universal dominion—universal in a sense which even the Roman commonwealth had not attained. The empire of Christ to the eye of the Gentile Apostle potentially filled all things, because it already held possession of the heights and of the depths; nay, unlike other empires, it held possession of the heights just because it was founded on the depths. The Christ of St. Paul reigned because He had served, nay, reigned because He still was serving. His kingdom was still a kingdom of ministration, was even now built upon His ability to stoop and bend; its universality was the length and the breadth, the height and the depth, of love. This is what Paul means when he says: "that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended, . . . He that descended is the same also that ascended;" he wants to describe the fact that Christ's lowliness was the source of His greatness, and His greatness the crown of His lowliness. It is a great mistake to imagine that the Apostle is alluding to the physical ascension of St. Luke's Gospel; he had in our view no such thought in his mind. If we are not greatly mistaken, the thought which he *had* in his mind was the allegory of Jacob's vision, or rather, a Christian modification of that allegory. On the ladder of Jacob there had been seen ascending and descending angels, but the angels that ascended were not the same as the angels that descended; there was no real continuity between the heights and the depths in the vision of the ancient patriarch. The celestial messengers had simply passed each other on the way. Some were on their journey from heaven to earth, others were on their road from earth to heaven, but the two journeys were undertaken by different personages. Paul's conception of a perfect ladder was the conception of a ladder on which the angels should descend for the purpose of bringing help to those beneath, and

on which they should ascend only when they had discharged that mission—a ladder whose design should be not so much the bridging of earth and heaven as the ministration of heaven to earth, and whose purpose should be attained not so much by the meeting of ascending and descending intelligences, as by the fact that the same intelligences which ascended had been those which had first descended on a mission of ministration. This was Paul's conception of a perfect ladder between earth and heaven—one in which the glory of ascending would mainly and primarily consist in the fact that a successful descent had first been made, in which the exaltation would be purchased by the humiliation. Such a ladder of angels St. Paul as yet did not see, but he beheld his idea realized in the work of a single life. He beheld in the Son of Man the first-fruits, as it were, of that new age of angelic communication in which the ascending angels should be one with the descending. He saw in Him the beginning of that period of ministration in which the glory of a life should be its power to bend, in which the empire of a life should be its power to stoop, in which the freedom of a life should be its power to serve, in which the fulness of a life should be its power to empty itself of its conscious strength.

Let us now proceed to view in detail the aspects in which this empire of Christ is represented in the New Testament. They may be embraced under three great divisions, which do not stand for different things, but rather for different sides of the same thing—the headship of Christ, the power of Christ, and the judgment of Christ. The *headship* of Christ is the expression which is used to mark His relation to the new theocracy. The title which indicated the Divine supremacy in the Old Testament was king; the title which indicates the Divine supremacy in the New is head. Yet it would be a mistake to imagine that the latter is a mere synonym for the former. The head is indeed the king, but he is no longer the king by the same method; it would not be too much to

say that he is king by virtue of an opposite method. The king reigns by commanding; the head reigns by serving. The king subjects to himself all the members of the body politic; the head is in one sense subject to all the members of the body corporate. In representing Christ as the head of a body, Paul means to represent Him as the Ruler of all because He is the Servant of all. He designs to illustrate in actual history the truth of the Lord's own pregnant aphorism: "Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your minister." To him the exalted Christ is exalted not so much as the *reward* of His humiliation as by *reason* of His humiliation. His humiliation *is* His exaltation. He is the head of the body just because He has received the power to become recipient of all the pains which the members bear, and sentient of all impressions which the members feel. The increase of His kingdom is the increase of His headship, the addition to His burden-bearing. St. Paul is not afraid to use such startling words as these: "I fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ." His thought is that the afflictions of Christ are not complete until the members of His body are complete, that every member added to His body adds to His sensitiveness as the head of that body, and that therefore the completed headship of the Son of Man is bound to be a completed power of ministration. It is only another phase of that same thought which is expressed by the writer to the Hebrews in that universal priesthood which even in the heavenly state he is not afraid to attribute to the Son of Man; the Divine headship of Christ is His power to bear.

The second phrase which is commonly used to mark the new theocracy is "the *power* of Christ." The power here spoken of is distinctively a "power of God unto *salvation*," in other words, it is a power which is manifested solely in producing the good of the creature. Now, we want to point out that in the view of Scripture the root of Christ's power to save is the perfection of His *humanity*. In the controversies

of last century between Arianism and Trinitarianism, it was no uncommon argument on the part of the latter to allege that Christ could not be a mere angel if He were the Redeemer of the world, because an angel is not divine enough to redeem. If we are not greatly mistaken, the writer to the Hebrews has argued on the same side for exactly the opposite reason; in his view the angel was not *human* enough to redeem. He declares that Christ took upon Himself not the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, because in taking the seed of Abraham He was assuming a greater power over humanity. The children being "partakers of flesh and blood," it was incumbent that He also should "take part in the same." "It behoved Him to be made like unto His brethren, that He might be a merciful and faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God." It was not enough that He should be faithful; He must be merciful, He must be able to consider, not only the things pertaining to God, but the things pertaining to man. He could only consider these things by experiencing them, only in being tempted was He able to succour those who are tempted. The secret of His power in the view of the writer to the Hebrews, which is distinctively the Pauline view, was the fact that even in passing into the Heavens He had not ceased to be touched with the feeling of human infirmities, and the secret of this permanence of human sympathy was the fact that the frailties of humanity had been embraced in His actual experience; He "was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." It was through *death* that He delivered them who were under the bondage of death; the measure of His power was the depth of His humiliation, He ascended because He had descended.

The third expression which is distinctive of the new theocracy is the phrase "*judgment of Christ.*" Here, if anywhere, we should expect that the Head of humanity would be revealed precisely in those aspects in which He has pre-eminence over the members. And yet in the view of the New Testament it

is exactly the reverse. In the fourth Gospel it is expressly stated that the Father has given Christ "authority to execute judgment because He is the Son of *Man*." We should certainly have looked for the statement that His authority to execute judgment rested on the fact that He was the Son of *God*. Yet the idea plainly is that no one can be judge of another unless he has within him the basis of that other's nature, unless at one time he has lived in his experience, and is able at the present time to reproduce that experience. The notion of a judgment of humanity being committed to an angel could never for a moment have found place in the conception of Scripture. The angel is conceived as being utterly above humanity, and for that very reason utterly incapable of judging humanity. Judgment is a form of criticism, and all criticism demands a community of spirit with that which we criticize. No man is entitled to be the judge of poetry if he himself has not the poetic spirit. He may have attributes which in the view of the world are infinitely grander than the poetic, but no amount of these will give him the right to be a judge of poetry. To have this right of criticism he must empty himself from the many attributes into the one, must ignore the qualities which the world considers infinitely grander, and must concentrate his undivided attention on that which constitutes the poetic element.

Now, this is substantially the thought which has dominated the New Testament idea of judgment. It refuses to commit the judgment of the world to an angel, not because an angel is too lowly, but because an angel is too high, too far removed from any contact with the human. On the other hand, it sees no paradox in affirming that "*the saints shall judge the world*." It is willing to commit the judgment of humanity to the spirits of just men made perfect because the spirit which has made them perfect is the life of the Son of Man. It is only in a sinless humanity, in a humanity which has been at

once tempted and unconquered, in a humanity which has remained immaculate but whose immaculacy is yet not the result of inability to experience human weakness, that the New Testament is willing to recognise a power fit to occupy the judgment throne. It is because in Christ it finds this ideal, it is because in Him it sees at once the sinlessness and the struggle, the victory and the strife, that it has placed upon His brow that crown which it has denied to angels, and recognised in Him the authority to judge the quick and the dead.

GEORGE MATHESON.

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## THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES.

IN the following series of papers it is intended to give brief illustrations of passages of the Old Testament from the monuments of Egypt, Assyria, and other oriental countries, which have been recently discovered or deciphered. So much light has been thrown by recent discoveries on the Old Testament itself, as well as upon Old Testament times, that in many instances current interpretations have had to be abandoned, while passages hopelessly obscure have been rendered plain and intelligible. The order of the books of the Old Testament in the Authorized Version will be followed.

Gen. i.—Fragments of an account of the Creation, in many respects similar to that of Genesis, have been found among the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria. These were written upon clay tablets, baked in the kiln, most of which were broken or otherwise injured when the overthrow of Nineveh brought with it the destruction of the library in which they were kept. This is the explanation of the fragmentary con-

dition of so many of the Assyrian texts, and it naturally increases the difficulty of translating them.

The account of the Creation was written on a series of tablets, and apparently described the Creation as occupying a period of seven days. It begins as follows: "At that time the heaven above named not a name, nor did the earth below record one: yea, the deep was their first creator, the flood of the sea was she who bore them all. Their waters were embosomed in one place, and the darkness was not yet removed (?), the plant was ungrown. At that time the gods had not issued forth, any one of them; by no name were they recorded, no destiny (had they fixed). Then the great gods were made: Lakhmu and Lakhamu issued forth the first; they grew up. . . . Next were made the host of heaven and earth. The time was long (and then) the gods Anu (Bel and Ea were born of) the host of heaven and earth."

Anu, Bel, and Ea were the three supreme gods of the Assyrians, and represented respectively the sky, the earth, and the waters. Their birth therefore symbolized the close of the reign of chaos and the beginning of the present order of things. The origin of the universe is regarded as the primæval deep: all else was chaos. This "deep" is termed "the flood of the sea," the word used for "sea" being the same as that which is rendered the "deep" in Gen. i. 2. With the statement that "the plant was ungrown" may be compared Gen. ii. 5. The words which immediately precede this statement are unfortunately of doubtful meaning, since the first of them may here signify "a flowering reed," and not be identical with a word which, though spelt in the same way, means "darkness."

It is probable, however, that the next tablet of the series described the creation of light. But the tablet is lost, and it is not until we come to the fifth tablet, which describes the appointment of the heavenly bodies, that any portion of the series has been recovered. It tells us that the deity—the



name is not given—"created the stations of the great gods, even the stars, which he established as signs of the seasons. He ordered the year, he appointed Decani over it, yea, he appointed three stars for each of the twelve months." Then comes an account of the creation of the moon, which was ordered to rule the night. In all this there is a close resemblance to Gen. i. 14-18, where the work of the fourth day is described.

Only a few lines remain of the sixth tablet, which records the creation of animals. It begins as follows: "At that time the gods in their assembly made (the living creatures). They created the mighty (animals). They caused the living beings to come forth, even the cattle of the field, the beast of the field, and the creeping thing." This reminds us of Gen. i. 24, 25, where the three species of living creatures, "cattle and creeping thing and beast of the earth," are enumerated just as they are in the Assyrian account.

No more tablets of the series have as yet been discovered. We find, however, frequent allusions to the creation of man in the old Chaldean hymns. Thus Ea or Oannes, who is represented on a gem as a man with a fish's tail, is addressed in one of them as "the god of life," and is called "the merciful one, with whom is life, who has created mankind for their redemption." From this it is probable that the unnamed appointer of the heavenly bodies was Ea.

Gen. ii. 2, 3.—The Sabbath was known to the Babylonians and Assyrians. In Assyrian, as in Hebrew, it was termed *Sabattu* or "Sabbath," and the inscriptions define it as "a day of rest for the heart" and "a day of completion of labour." A calendar of saints' days for the month of the intercalary Elul makes the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the lunar month Sabbaths on which certain works were forbidden to be done. We read that on these days "flesh cooked on the fire may not be eaten, the clothing of the body may not be changed, white garments may not be put on, a sacrifice may

not be offered, the king may not ride in his chariot, nor speak in public, the augur may not mutter in a secret place, medicine may not be applied to the body, nor may any curse be uttered." But the Assyro-Babylonian Sabbath differed from the Hebrew Sabbath in its essentially lunar character. In the Old Testament, Sabbaths and new moons are distinguished from one another; in Babylonia and Assyria, the feast of the new moon was necessarily a Sabbath. The Babylonian calendar, in fact, was based on the week of seven days.

Gen. ii. 8.—The name of Eden has been recovered from the cuneiform monuments. The district on the western bank of the Euphrates was called by the Accadians—the predecessors of the Semitic Babylonians—*edin*, "the plain" or "field." In the astrological tablets we have frequent mention made of peaceful times when "the cattle could lie down safely in Edin." The word was borrowed by the Semitic Babylonians under the form of *Edinu*, and it is the word used to denote "field" in the expressions "cattle of the field" and "beast of the field" found in the Creation tablets. On the south-eastern side of Edin was the ancient city of Eridu, called also "the good" or "holy city." Now a fragmentary Chaldean hymn begins in the following way: "(In) Eridu the overshadowing tree of knowledge grew; in a holy place it was planted. Its (crown) was lustrous crystal which bent towards the deep. The (stream) of Ea was its path in Eridu, a canal full of waters. Its seat was the central place of the earth. Its resting-place was the couch of the primæval mother. The (roof) of its holy house spread its shade as a forest; none might enter within it. (It was the seat) of the mighty (primæval) mother, the begetter of the god Anu. Within it (also was) Tammuz." There seems to be here a reference to Paradise. Not only was *edin* or *eden* a Babylonian word; the Hebrew *gân*, "garden," is also found in Babylonian with the same sense. It was, however, of Accadian origin, as the inscriptions inform us; but as it occurs

in all the Semitic languages, it must have been borrowed by the Semites at a very early date. We must remember that the Babylonian "garden" was not so much a garden of flowers or herbs, as of trees, among which the palm held a conspicuous place.

Gen. ii. 9.—The Assyrian sculptures have made us acquainted with the Babylonian conception of the tree of life. The tree, as represented in them, is of a purely conventional type, and it is difficult to determine whether it was originally intended to represent the palm or the pine. On either side of it a guardian cherub is usually depicted, sometimes standing, sometimes in a kneeling posture. The cherubim have wings, but their heads are indifferently those of men and of eagles. Not unfrequently they hold in their hands the symbol of life in the shape of a cluster of dates, or a pine cone—which is meant is uncertain. "The god of life" was Ea, the deity who represented the deep, and the city of Eridu was under his special care. The canal on which Babylon was built was also dedicated to him, apparently because an old name of Babylon was "the city of the forest" or "tree of life." It was further called "the snake stream," since Ea was symbolized by the serpent, who is described as "the rope of the great god." But "the great god" Ea was himself addressed as "the snake-god;" thus the Euphrates is termed "the river of the snake-god who is coiled round the tree of life," a phrase which forcibly reminds us of Gen. iii. 1. As the snake-god Ea was named Irnina.

Sacred trees appear on the Egyptian monuments, among them the Persea and sycomore. They were dedicated to various deities, and in some instances we see a hand protruding from them and pouring out the water of life.

It has been stated that no reference to a tree of knowledge as distinct from the tree of life has been met with in the Assyrian inscriptions, and it has been even maintained that Gen. ii. 9 and iii. 22 can be rendered so as to mean one and

the same tree. We have seen, however, that the Chaldeans supposed "a tree of knowledge" (literally "tree of the oracle") to grow at Eridu, and Ea the god of Eridu was "the god of wisdom." Moreover there is an early hymn which connects the pine-tree with the tablets of destiny and the oracles of the gods. As the text of the hymn is unpublished, and no translation of it has ever been given, we will quote some verses from it: "The altars in the waters (of the great deep) they see, even the secrets of Anu, Bel, and Ea, the tablets of the gods, the delivering of the oracle of heaven and earth. With their hand they caused the pine-tree, the beloved of the great gods, to grow; the tablets of the gods they . . . thrice in heaven and earth." Owing to the loss of the beginning of the hymn, however, it is uncertain who it was to whom the tablets of destiny and the sacred pine-tree were revealed.

Gen. ii. 11.—Professor Friedrich Delitzsch identifies the name of the Pison with the Assyrian *pīṣṭn*, which he translates "canal," and supposes to be the name of the great Pallakopas canal of Bābylonia. The correctness of his translation, however, is doubtful, and the word *pīṣṭn* more probably means a species of vase. Havilah signifies "sandy district," and from Gen. xxv. 18 it would appear that this sandy district was the desert of northern Arabia.

Gen. ii. 12.—The word rendered "onyx" is *shoham*. The same word is found in Assyrian, where it means "grey" or "light blue," and as in Hebrew is the name of a particular kind of stone.

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## THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

### 6. *The relation of Jesus to Messianic hopes and functions.*

NOT less important than the question as to the attitude of Jesus towards the Mosaic Law is the inquiry in what relation He stood to the Messianic hopes current among the Jewish people in His time. The inquiry has two aspects, one referring to the extent of our Lord's sympathy with prevailing Messianic ideas, the other to His claim to be the Messiah. The two topics are closely related, but they may, to a certain extent, be looked at apart. Even if Jesus had not claimed to be the Christ, He would still have had to adjust Himself to a conception shared by nearly the whole of His countrymen, based on Hebrew prophecy, and received as a sacred inheritance from the Fathers.

What then was the position taken up by the Herald of the kingdom on this burning question? The opinion of Dr. Baur on the point is well known. In his view the Messianic idea had no vitality for Jesus. The prophet of Nazareth was a purely ethical teacher, who would gladly have ignored a hope with which at heart He had no sympathy, and which He knew to be a delusion. But being a Jew, He was obliged to recognise the national expectation, however distasteful to His own feelings, and speak as if He regarded it as important; nay, He was compelled reluctantly to let Himself be taken for the Messiah, as the indispensable condition of success on Jewish soil, in an attempt to introduce a new universal religion.

The truth of this view must be acknowledged to the extent of admitting that there was much in the conventional Messianic idea with which Jesus was not in accord. His

habitual reticence regarding his own claims to be the Christ is sufficient evidence of the fact. That reticence might be adduced as a proof that His conception of the kingdom was peculiar; for King and kingdom correspond, and divergent thoughts as to the nature of the one imply an analogous divergence in reference to the other. It shows that Christ's idea of the kingdom must have been different even from that of the Baptist; for the preacher of repentance practised no reserve on the subject, but spoke openly of a Coming One whose shoe-latchet he was not worthy to unloose. But the point insisted on now is the significance of that reticence as an index of Christ's position in reference to the Messianic hope. It betrayed a consciousness that His thoughts thereon were not those of the Jewish people, giving rise to a natural unwillingness to say much on a subject on which it was difficult to speak without being misunderstood. It did not, however, imply, as Baur imagined, that Jesus had no Messianic convictions, but merely adapted Himself prudentially to those of others. It is not credible that He would be guilty of such insincerity, any more than that such a policy, if adopted, could be successful. Had the Messianic idea in every form been void of all validity for His mind, He would certainly have discarded it and taken the consequences. For the sincere man, religious beliefs current in his time, which he cannot accept, must either be rejected or transformed. The Messianic faith of Israel could not be absolutely rejected, because it contained eternal truth, and therefore the only possible alternative was transformation. Christ's position in reference to it can be partly understood through our own in reference to an idea of vital significance in Christian piety. It is essential to a religion bearing Christ's name that it be *evangelic*, for that is only to say that it must conform to the teaching and spirit of our Lord, as exhibited in the Gospels. Yet the term has been so often associated with a legal spirit in theology and life, that one earnestly minded to follow the Master feels

the need either of a new word or of a very discriminating use of the old one. Even so was it with the Master Himself in regard to the Jewish hope of a Messiah. The word expressed a faith in a bright future for the world, which no one not given over to atheistic pessimism would consent to part with. Nevertheless, in current use it was so mixed up with idle dreams, ambitious passions, false opinions, and sham sanctities, that one wishing to hold fast his belief in the divine reality was under the necessity of breaking with tradition, and re-discovering the truth for himself; and having found it, of uttering his thoughts concerning it, as one conscious of isolation.

We conceive of Jesus as going forth to His public ministry with transformed ideas both of the Messianic office and of the Messianic kingdom. His spiritual nature determined the form of the Messianic idea, gathering up as by elective affinity the congenial elements of Old Testament prophecy. Ample materials for such a transformation were to be found in texts which suggested the notion of a gentle, missionary, suffering Messiah gaining power by meekness, by His wisdom giving light to the world, bearing the sins and miseries of men by sympathy as a burden on His heart. The first evangelist, who has taken pains to illustrate his narrative by prophetic citations, quotes some of these texts, giving prominence to that which describes the Messiah as one who shall not strive nor cry, and who also shall not break the bruised reed or quench the smoking flax.<sup>1</sup> The oracle is introduced in connection with directions given by Jesus to the sick people whom He healed, that they should not make Him known. This retiring habit in one possessing such powers seemed to the evangelist very remarkable. And so indeed it was. It was utterly contrary to the spirit of the world, which pursues the policy of self-advertisement and self-assertion with a view to gratify personal ambition, and deals in ostentation and conflict; by the one seeking public applause, by the other

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xii. 18-21. The quotation is from Isa. xlii. 1-4.

striving to overcome obstacles. It was this way the brethren of Jesus desired Him to adopt when they counselled Him to go up to Judæa to show His works, reckoning it foolish in one who had it in His power to become celebrated to remain in obscurity.<sup>1</sup> But such counsel, whether given by the god of this world or by its children, Jesus ever declined to follow. He would not strive, but when His acts or words provoked hostility, as in the instance recorded by Matthew before citing the prophetic oracle, He withdrew from the scene. Neither would He cry or lift up His voice in the streets, following the methods of those who hunt after fame; He rather took as much pains to hide His good deeds as others took to make theirs widely known. Yet He was ever willing to do deeds of kindness; when suffering multitudes gathered around Him in season or out of season, He healed them all. His was a spirit of gentleness, humility, and sympathy: of gentleness towards opponents, of humility in shunning vainglorious display, of sympathy shown in pity for the sick and in patience with spiritual weakness. Such were the attributes of Jesus. Such were the attributes of the servant of Jehovah, as described by the prophet, which made Him God's well-beloved and elect One, and proved that God's spirit was in Him. The evangelist was struck with the correspondence; and with true insight discerned in the character of Jesus, as revealed in His actions, the fulfilment of the oracle. We cannot doubt that the significance of the prophetic utterance was as apparent to Jesus Himself as to His disciple, and that it was one of the ancient texts from which He drew His idea of the Messiah.

In a Messiah of the type therein sketched Jesus could earnestly believe. No other type of Messiah could have any attractions for Him: not the political Messiah of the zealots whose one desire was national independence; not the Messiah of common expectation, who should flatter popular prejudices

<sup>1</sup> John vii. 3, 4.

and make Himself an idol by becoming a slave ; not even the austere Messiah of the Baptist, who was to separate the good from the evil by a process of judicial severity, and so usher in a kingdom of righteousness. The Messiah devoutly to be longed for, and cordially to be welcomed when He came, in His view, was one who should conquer by the might of love and truth ; who should meet the deepest wants of man, not merely gratify the wishes of Jews, and prove a light and a saviour to the whole world ; who should be conspicuous by patience and hopefulness rather than by inexorable sternness, —a humane, universal, spiritual Messiah, answering to a divine kingdom of kindred character,—the desire of all nations, the fulfilment of humanity's deepest longings, therefore not destined to be superseded, but to remain an Eternal Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

Such a Messiah Jesus not merely believed in, but claimed Himself to be. The claim finds expression in many of His recorded words, and underlies the whole evangelic history from beginning to end. It is implied in the announcement of the kingdom as *present*. It is implied also in the titles Son of man and Son of God which, as we shall see, sprang out of a Messianic consciousness. It is indirectly asserted in such sayings as these, "I say unto you that in this place is One greater than the temple ;" <sup>1</sup> "Behold a greater than Jonas is here ;" <sup>2</sup> "Behold a greater than Solomon is here." <sup>3</sup> It lurks in the title "Bridegroom" <sup>4</sup> applied by Jesus to Himself, a title applied by the prophets to Jehovah in relation to the covenant people, and teaching that in Him to whom it is given the soul finds its Lord and the fulness of spiritual bliss. It was involved in the tacit acceptance by Jesus of the epithet "the Coming One" employed by the Baptist in his doubting message to describe the Christ. <sup>5</sup> It found utterance in the prophetic discourse on the *παρουσία* in the solemn

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xii. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xii. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. ix. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xi. 3.

declaration, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away."<sup>1</sup> Specially significant is the text in which, after condemning the Pharisaic lust for titles of honour, Jesus gives His disciples the counsel: "Be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your Master, and all ye are brethren."<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt who the διδάσκαλος is: the word finds its interpretation in the fact that the speaker stood in the relation of Master to His hearers. This claim to be the one Master, taken in connection with the condemnation of pretension to Mastership, can escape the charge of inconsistency only on the supposition that He who makes the claim is conscious of being an exceptional person who without arrogance may say to men: "Learn from Me,"<sup>3</sup> take Me as your supreme teacher and guide in religion. Similar reflections apply to Christ's mode of enforcing lessons of humility by prescribing Himself as an example; as on the occasion when the sons of Zebedee advanced their ambitious request, when He said: "Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant; even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister."<sup>4</sup> This was spoken out of the consciousness of being the first in the kingdom—king by right, though servant by choice; and the implied claim is accentuated from being uttered in connection with a rebuke of ambitious passions. In one notable instance Jesus asserted His superhuman greatness even in the very act of limiting it, viz. when He declared His ignorance of the last day, saying, "Concerning that day, or that hour, no one knoweth, neither angel in heaven, nor the Son, absolutely no one, save the Father."<sup>5</sup> Nescience is here professed in a manner involving a claim to a very high position in the scale of being, superior to that of angels, subordinate only to that of the Supreme.

Jesus proclaimed Himself to be the Messiah by claiming

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiv. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxiii. 8. The words ἰσχυρίαι are a gloss.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xi. 29. μάθητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. xx. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Mark xiii. 32.



Messianic functions. Thus we find Him in many utterances representing Himself as the *Judge* of the world; as in the saying, "The Son of man is about to come in the glory of His Father, with His angels, and then shall He give to every one according to his works."<sup>1</sup> Baur, while admitting the fact as indisputable, resolves the judicial action of Jesus into a purely ethical process. Jesus judges men by His doctrines, which are the fundamental laws of the divine kingdom, because according to the attitudes they assume towards these, men divide themselves into two morally distinct classes. He judges them by His own person, because He is the concrete embodiment of the absolute worth of His teaching. Baur doubts whether Jesus ever spoke of His judicial function in such terms as those in which He appears promising to the twelve seats of judgment beside Himself in the *παλιγγενεσία*, discovering in the words an eschatological colouring arising out of gross popular ideas of the coming Messianic kingdom. In the representation of the judgment in Matt. xxv. he finds simply a parabolic embodiment of the judicial power of Christ's doctrine. The good *per se* is personified in Jesus, and men who do the good for its own sake, living loving lives, are represented as unawares doing kind actions to Him. Be it so; what a high claim even this view of Christ's judicial function involves! It implies that Jesus regarded Himself as the moral idea realized.

Jesus advanced His claim to Messiahship in a more genial way by proclaiming Himself to be the *Saviour* of men. This He did under various forms of representation; at one time announcing Himself as the Shepherd of Israel, sent to seek the lost sheep; at another as the Physician of souls, whose vocation it was to heal the spiritually diseased; on other occasions exercising saving power by forgiving sin. The whole ministry of miraculous healing may be regarded as an exhibition of Messianic resources brought into play for

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xvi. 27.

the good of men. It was the saving grace of Messiah active in the physical sphere, and giving to His work as Redeemer a comprehensiveness and completeness answering to the requirements of the Messianic ideal. It was meet that there should be a wealth of salvation, a plenteous redemption, in the promised Deliverer, and the presence of these in the ministry of Jesus pointed Him out as the fulfiller of the promise.

Once more, Jesus declared Himself to be the Messiah by claiming to be the *revealer* of God as Father, as in the memorable words: "No man knoweth the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him."<sup>1</sup> By the solemn affirmation Jesus raised Himself, not only above rabbinical teachers, whose chief function, in effect, if not in intention, was to hide God from men, but even above the prophets, through whom God made a partial, fragmentary, piecemeal revelation of His nature and will. He claimed to be in possession of a full, adequate, absolutely true knowledge of God, for all this is implied in knowing the Father; and He represented Himself as possessing this knowledge in virtue of His relation to God as a Son. The Son knows the Father's heart, and can reveal its inmost thoughts. Jesus offers Himself to the world as one occupying this unique position, the complete final exegete of the Divine Being. He could not advance a more imposing claim, neither could He offer Himself as a Messiah in a more acceptable form. A Messiah who can reveal God must ever be welcome, for the knowledge of God is man's supreme need. A Christ who tells us of a Divine Father will never go out of fashion or be superseded; for "to-day, to-morrow, and for ever, we can know nothing better than that God is our Father, and that the Father is the rest of our souls."<sup>2</sup> This is a Christ for all the world, as well as for all time, a universal human Messiah, in whom all the nations gladly put their trust.

Jesus asserted His Messiahship in yet another way, viz.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xi. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, ii. 385.

by demanding or accepting Messianic honours. Meek, humble in spirit, He nevertheless ever assumed the position of Lord. "Follow Me" was the word of command He addressed to those whom He desired to become disciples, at the very commencement of His public ministry.<sup>1</sup> And the conditions of service He imposed on His followers were very exacting. He required them to leave all for His sake,—dearest friends, most valued possessions; such as shrank from the sacrifice He deemed unworthy of the name of a disciple. He put Himself on a level with the kingdom; whatever men were required to do out of regard to its interests, they must be ready to do for Him. "For the kingdom's sake," and "for My sake," He treated as expressions of equal value. In other words, He claimed to be the Messianic King: not merely the Herald of the kingdom, but its highest personage.

That Jesus habitually, and from the first, regarded Himself as the Messiah, is thus beyond all reasonable doubt. How did He arrive at this view of His vocation; what was the genesis of His Messianic consciousness? No answer to the question can be accepted which does not respect the humility of Jesus. He certainly did not elect Himself to this high career. "No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God;"<sup>2</sup> no man such as Jesus of Nazareth, absolutely free from self-seeking and ambitious passions. It is not credible that He set Himself to invent a new idea of Messiah, combining in one the gentle and warlike elements in prophetic representations, and then going forth to try by experiment how the new scheme of a Messiah conquering by patience would work.<sup>3</sup> He entered on His Messianic vocation simply as one obeying a divine summons. How the call was communicated we can only conjecture. We may think of the secret of His birth revealed to Him by His parents, of His Davidic descent, of His significant name Jesus, as suggesting

<sup>1</sup> Mark i. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. v. 4.

<sup>3</sup> So in effect Mr. Arnold. *Vid. Literature and Dogma*, p. 96.

the thought that God had appointed Him to a unique career. But these alone would hardly suffice to give the necessary assurance. Probably the chief guidance came from within, from the spiritual endowments wherewith the soul of Jesus was richly furnished. In this connection stress has been laid on His perfect holiness. In that sinless life the kingdom of God as a kingdom of righteousness was realized in germ. The kingdom which had been long looked for was at length come in the person of the Holy One, and He Himself must be the Messiah.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless moral purity was one source of the Messianic consciousness. But one shrinks from the thought of Jesus arriving by reflection on His own personal holiness at the conclusion that He was the Messiah. It gives to His Messianic consciousness an aspect of self-righteousness. The inference from the spotless life to the Messianic vocation is just, but it seems one more appropriate for us to draw than for Jesus. We should prefer therefore to look in the direction of the deep intense human sympathies with which the heart of Jesus was filled. Love is the fulfilling of the law, and the destined Messiah was conscious of His sinlessness in the form of a consuming passion of filial love to His Father, and of compassionate love for men. And it was under the impulse of that mighty love that He went forth to do His work, scarce daring to think Himself the Christ, yet knowing full well that the work to which His love impelled Him was just the work Messiah had to do. Through that love His Father seemed to say to Him, Go forth to heal the world's woes, and He loyally obeyed the call, walking by faith and expecting confirmations that He had rightly interpreted the divine will.

This view is in accordance with the account given by Luke of our Lord's appearance in the synagogue of Nazareth.<sup>2</sup> The text on which He discoursed there represents Messiah's outfit as consisting in an abundant anointing with the Spirit of love. If the text was given to His hand in the lesson of the day, He

<sup>1</sup> So Weiss, *Das Leben Jesu*, i. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Luke iv. 14-20.

accepted it as a most congenial one wherefrom to discourse on the Messianic vocation. A sceptical criticism may indeed doubt whether any reference was made by Jesus to the prophetic oracle quoted by the third evangelist, tracing its presence in the Gospel to the Pauline bias of the writer leading him to select it as a motto. The scepticism is excessive, for even Mark's narrative implies that a very remarkable discourse had been delivered by Jesus to His fellow-townsmen;<sup>1</sup> but even granting it to be well founded, we can only say that Luke has shown excellent judgment in the selection of his motto. No Old Testament text could more felicitously interpret the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, or more faithfully express the general drift of His ministry. This we assert on His own testimony, as contained in the well-authenticated account He gave of His own work in His reply to the doubting message of the Baptist. "Art Thou He that should come, or do we look for another?" asked John. What was the answer of Jesus? "Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see. The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them."<sup>2</sup> He expected the report of such events, duly weighed, to solve John's doubts. It is reasonable to assume that what He regarded as good evidence for John He had found helpful to Himself. The love out of which the healing miracles and the evangelizing of the poor had flowed had been to Him the token of His Messianic vocation.

There is no indication in the records that Jesus was ever visited by doubts concerning His Messiahship, such as those which distracted the mind of the Baptist. His path as the Christ appears ever to have been illumined by the light of faith. Nevertheless it was a path of faith, of a faith subject to trial, and standing in need of confirmation. The whole life of Jesus is represented in the New Testament as

<sup>1</sup> Mark vi. 2.<sup>2</sup> Matt. xi. 4.

a walking by faith wherein He is our example, and it could not be appropriately so characterized if so momentous a matter as His Messianic consciousness were exempted from faith's scope. The experiences of His ministry supplied material for severe trials of His faith in reference thereto. There were temptations to entertain false views of Messiah's office, arising out of the popular enthusiasm awakened by His words and deeds; temptations to distrust His own true conception arising out of the antagonism of the wise and religious, and the sincere doubt of such a man as John; temptations springing from the prospect of a tragic end to regard His whole career as a gigantic mistake and failure. These temptations were successfully resisted, but not without moral effort. The Messianic consciousness advanced onwards from the morning twilight to the perfect day; but it remained unclouded through strenuous use of aids to faith. The chief aid was habitual close fellowship with the Father in heaven. In the healing miracles, wrought in a spirit of dependence, and "by the finger of God,"<sup>1</sup> the Worker had sensible evidence that "God was with Him,"<sup>2</sup> and was owning Him as the Christ. Special aids were not wanting at critical periods. The incidents connected with the baptism supplied one at the commencement. The voice from heaven, however viewed, points to confirmation needed and given to the purpose already formed to enter on a Messianic career. Jesus came to the Jordan thinking of Himself as the well-beloved elect One of Messianic prophecy,<sup>3</sup> and after His baptism He felt assured that in this He was not mistaken. The temptation in the wilderness immediately following supplied another important aid. Whatever conception we form of that mysterious experience we must hold

<sup>1</sup> Luke xii. 20. Matthew's expression (xii. 28) is "by the Spirit of God."

<sup>2</sup> Acts x. 39.

<sup>3</sup> The voice from heaven at the Jordan, repeated at the Transfiguration, is an echo of Isa. xlii. 1, cf. Matt. xii. 18. This points to that prophetic passage as an important factor in the formation of Christ's Messianic idea.

that it involved at least a mental process through which Jesus gained a clear view of the true vocation of Messiah as opposed to the false. He left the wilderness understanding well that the genuine Christ of God could not be a self-pleaser either in spirit or in lot.

The connected scenes at Cæsarea Philippi and on the Mount of Transfiguration had an important bearing on the self-consciousness of Christ. At that late time it was becoming increasingly apparent that the career of the Prophet of Nazareth was to terminate tragically. Judged by the vulgar test of success, it might already be pronounced a failure, and looking forward ignominy and death seemed probable. Could He be the Christ who had such a prospect before Him? The question, we cannot doubt, exercised much the thoughts of Jesus in those days. From the outset He understood that sorrow awaited Him, but when the cross stared Him in the face, it needed a firm grasp of truth to enable Him to meet His fate calmly. It was a time demanding earnest meditation and prayer. Through these Jesus arrived at a clear conviction that the cross, instead of being a sign of mistake or failure, was the inevitable goal for all who were loyal to the kingdom and to righteousness, and in a superlative degree for the Messianic King. This view had full possession of His mind when He made His Messiahship a subject of conversation with His disciples at Cæsarea Philippi. He therefore took that step, not so much with a view to confirmation of His own faith, as to confirm the faith of His companions. He desired to elicit from them a confession of His Messianic claims before speaking to them of His approaching sufferings. Yet we cannot doubt that He found comfort in the hearty unhesitating response of Peter speaking in the name of all. As at a former time the attachment of the "babes" was a solace to His heart in presence of the unbelief of the wise and understanding, so now the earnest faith of the twelve consoled Him under the prospect of unbelief—speedily

ripening into deadly hatred. In view of that faith He felt sure of the future whatever might happen. Out of it would spring a Church strong as the gates of Hades.

In the Transfiguration scene Jesus received a second consolation, made necessary by the failure of the disciples to comprehend the law of the cross. He obtained the assurance that by willingness to become a sacrifice He gained the approval of His Heavenly Father. With this faith He went cheerfully on His way with His face stedfastly set towards Jerusalem, finding in the certainty of death the most convincing evidence that He was indeed the Lord's Anointed. Henceforth unwavering confidence might go hand in hand with deepest lowliness. We said that no explanation of the Christ-consciousness of Jesus could be accepted which did not respect His humility. For this reason we hesitated to regard the sense of sinlessness as the origin of that consciousness, and preferred to find it in the Messianic charism of love. Impelled by love, Jesus could wear His honour meekly. Still more effectually was His meekness guarded when the Messianic vocation was associated with the spirit of self-sacrifice. Then Messiahship appeared not as an honour, but as a service, and as a service involving humiliation and pain. "No man taketh this honour unto himself," writes the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with reference to the priestly office. Ambition might seize the position when priest and sacrificial victim were distinct, as under the Levitical system; but there was no fear of that happening when, as in the case of Jesus, priest and victim became one. Then the wearer of the sacerdotal robes, instead of proudly arrogating office, rather humbly submitted to be made a priest. Even so was it with the vocation of Messiah. The dignities of a Messiahship honoured by the world's homage vanity might covet, but the office of a suffering Messiah no one would undertake unless his motto were "Not My will, but Thine be done."

A. B. BRUCE.



## THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES.

### II.

GEN. ii. 14.—Hiddekel represents the old Accadian name of the Tigris, *id Dikla*, "the river Dikla." In a cognate dialect it was called Dikna, as well as Tiggarr. The latter form is the origin of the classical Tigris.

The Hebrew Asshur in this verse is not Assyria, as it is translated in the Authorized Version, but Asshur, the primitive capital of Assyria, from which the country of Asshur or Assyria took its name. It is now represented by the mounds of Kalah Sherghat on the western bank of Tigris, and about midway between the Greater and Lesser Zab, which flow into the Tigris on its eastern side. Asshur was founded in the Accadian period before the arrival of the Semites in the country afterwards known as Assyria, and its name signified "water-boundary."

The Euphrates, the fourth river of Paradise, was the chief river of Babylonia. It was called by the Accadians Pura-nunu, "the great water," as well as simply Pura, "the water." From the latter name the Semitic Babylonians formed Purat by means of the feminine suffix *-t*, and this became Ph'rath in Hebrew, and Ufrâtus in Old Persian. The initial *u* here is merely euphonic, and is prefixed only in order to facilitate the pronunciation of the two consonants *fr*. The Greeks, however, imagined that it was connected with their particle *εὖ*, "well," and so originated the name Euphrates, which we still use.

Gen. ii. 17.—A curious illustration of this verse may be found in a penitential psalm composed by one of the præ-

Semitic Babylonians. In this the author says: "The transgression that I committed I knew not: the sin that I sinned I knew not. The forbidden thing did I eat; the forbidden thing did I trample on."

Gen. ii. 19.—The word Adam, "man," is found only in the Hebrew, Phœnician, and Assyrian languages. From it was formed the abstract *Adamat* which in the cuneiform tablets is explained to mean "the white race." The "white race" denoted the Semites in contradistinction to the Accadians, who are called in the inscriptions "the black heads" and "the black faces." But it so happened that the word *Adamat* might mean "red-skins," as well as "mankind," and a popular etymology accordingly connected the idea of redness with that of Adam. Adam has not been found used as a proper name in the Assyrian or Babylonian texts.

Gen. iii. 14.—Among both the Babylonians and the Egyptians the serpent was the personification of evil. Among the Egyptians he represented Apep or Apophis, whom the soul of the righteous was enabled to overcome through faith in Osiris. The serpent Apep was also one of the evil monsters whose attacks upon the boat of the sun-god were warded off by the god Anhur. In the cuneiform texts mention is made of the monstrous "serpent with seven heads," "the wicked serpent of night" and "darkness;" and the British Museum possesses an archaic Babylonian gem on which a tree is represented, with a man and woman seated on either side of it, and a serpent behind one of them.

Gen. iii. 24.—The word cherub is met with in Assyrian under the form of *kirub*. The *kirub* was a winged colossus with a human head and a bull's body, an image of whom was placed at the door of a house in order to prevent evil spirits from entering it.

M. Lenormant compares "the flaming sword which turned every way" with the thunderbolt of Merodach, which is addressed in an Accadian hymn as "the sphere of fire" and

"carnage," "the sun of fifty faces," "the sword which like a wild beast devours the fallen," "the falchion" and "blade of divinity," "the weapon of fifty heads."

Gen. iv. 1.—Dr. Oppert supposes that Abel is the same word as the Assyrian *abil*, "a son," and that just as the first man was named Adam or "man," so his son was called *abil*, "son." But there is one difficulty in the way of this identification. The Hebrew name begins with *h*, whereas there is no trace of the aspirate in the Assyrian word; and though the Assyrians not unfrequently dropped an aspirate in pronunciation, they rarely did so at the beginning of words. Moreover, we should expect to find the first-born Cain, rather than his younger brother, designated as *par excellence* "the son."

Gen. iv. 16.—The land of Nod, eastward of Eden, reminds us of "the royal city" of Nadit, mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as situated in Elam, as well as of the River Nadit, near which it seems to have stood. There was also another Elamite town named Nadia. Von Bohlen ingeniously conjectured that we ought to read *H-n-d* instead of *Nod* in the Hebrew text, and understand it of "Hind" or India. Hind, however, was the Persian form of the native name Sind, which is familiar to us as Scinde, the Indian *s* becoming an aspirate in Persian pronunciation. If, therefore, von Bohlen's conjecture were correct, the name must have come to the West through the medium of Persia, and so by an overland route. It has long been recognised that there must have been intercourse at an early date between Babylonia and India, since pieces of teak have been found at Mugheir, the ancient Ur. But it so happens that we can now prove that this intercourse took place by sea. Among the cuneiform tablets in the British Museum, is one containing an old Babylonian list of articles of clothing, with their Accadian (or pre-Semitic) and Semitic Babylonian names. In this list mention is made of a material which is termed "cloth of wooden fibre" in Accadian, and

*sindhu* or "Sind cloth" in Assyro-Babylonian. This cannot be anything else than cotton; and the fact that it was called *sindhu* shows not only that cotton was imported into Chaldea from India, but also that it was brought by sea and not overland through Persia. It may be added that the Assyrian *sindhu* is the origin of the Greek *σινδών*, "muslin."

Gen. iv. 17.—It is worth noting that the third month of the Assyrian year, Sivan or May, was called not only "the month of bricks" in Accadian, but also "the month of the twins," as if tradition had preserved a memory of the fact that the art of making bricks had been invented by one of two brothers. It must be remembered that in Babylonia, where there was no stone, all buildings were constructed of brick.

Gen. iv. 18.—The name of Irad in Hebrew is letter for letter the same as that of the Babylonian city Eridu, which, as we have seen, was closely connected with the recollections of Paradise. What makes it possible that there is some relation between the two words is the fact that the name of Methusael is purely Assyrian. The Assyrian form would be Mutu-sa-ili, "man of God."

Gen. iv. 26.—The name Enos signifies "man," like Adam. It is not found in Assyrian, which possessed, however, *tenisethu*, "mankind."

Gen. v. 24.—The memory of Enoch's translation survived among the Babylonians, but it was transferred by them to Xisuthros the Chaldean Noah. We may observe that just as Noah was the tenth in descent from Adam, so Xisuthros was (according to Babylonian legend) the tenth in succession from Aloros the first king of Chaldea.

Gen. vi. 2.—It has already been noticed that early Babylonian literature divided mankind into "the white race" or Adamat, i.e. the race of Adam, and the "black heads" or "black faces," the white race being the Semites, the black heads the primitive Accadian population. In this division Sir H. Rawlinson sees a parallel to "the sons of God" and "the

daughters of men" of the Book of Genesis, more especially when we remember that in Luke iii. 38 Adam is called "the son of God." On the other hand, "the daughters of men" are the daughters of Adam, though the rendering of the Authorized Version "fair" does not mean "fair of complexion," but simply "comely."

Gen. vi. 3.—The word *yadon*, which is translated "strive" in this verse, only occurs here, and is of doubtful signification. The Septuagint and Vulgate as well as the Syriac and Arabic versions render it "dwell." The rendering is perhaps supported by the evidence of the Assyrian language. In Assyrian we find an adjective *dannu*, "strong," and a substantive *dunnu*, "strength" or "stability," which may be connected with the Hebrew word. If so we should translate the passage: "My spirit shall not be strong in man for ever, since (?) he also is flesh: but his days shall be 120 years." God's spirit or breath was "the breath of life" He had breathed into man's nostrils at the first (Gen. ii. 7); this was no longer to be so potent as to enable men to live to the ages of the antediluvian patriarchs; their lives were to be shortened, even though they were still to be permitted to reach the age of 120 years. It is unfortunate that the meaning of the word translated "since" is doubtful.

Gen. vi. 4.—The Nephilim or "giants" are referred to again in Num. xiii. 33. In Assyrian *naplu*, "the destroyer," is a title assumed by the kings, and Sennacherib in describing the construction of his palace says: "A railing of three bronze cords and the divine Napallu I erected above it." Here "the divine Napallu" seems to refer to some image which was reared aloft above the palace.

Gen. vi. 9.—Noah is the Assyrian Nukh, "rest." The Accadian equivalent of *nukh* was Kus, and Kus we find to have been honoured as a god, and regarded as specially presiding over darkness and eclipses.

Gen. vi. 13.—The Chaldean account of the Deluge was

discovered by the late Mr. George Smith among the broken tablets which have come from the library of Nineveh. It was known that such an account must have existed, since it was mentioned by Bêrôssos the Chaldean priest who wrote a history of his country in Greek. But no one had any suspicion that it resembled so closely the account given in Genesis.

It must not be supposed, however, that the Chaldean account brought to light by Mr. George Smith was the only one known to the Assyrians. There were several other accounts or versions, one or two of which have been preserved in a fragmentary state. The version found by Mr. Smith was that which enjoyed most popularity and was most frequently copied and edited. But it was itself composed of two originally independent poems, which were pieced together by an ancient Babylonian poet named Sin-liki-unnini, and introduced as an episode into the eleventh book of the great Chaldean epic which related the adventures of Gisdhubar. Gisdhubar was a solar hero, and the epic which narrated his deeds was arranged upon an astronomical principle, being divided into twelve books, the adventures recounted in each book corresponding to the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac and of the months of the year, which bore in Accadian the same names as the zodiacal signs. As the eleventh zodiacal sign is Aquarius, and the eleventh month of the Accadian year was termed "the month of the curse of rain," the history of the Deluge was inserted in the eleventh book. It is put in the mouth of Xisuthros, the Chaldean Noah, himself, and is supposed to have been told to Gisdhubar when he visited Xisuthros on the confines of the upper and lower worlds. The entrance into the lower world was placed beyond Datilla, the river of death, at the mouth of the Euphrates, where it joined "the deep" or ocean-stream which encircled the earth on every side. Xisuthros, it was believed, had been translated to the realm of the gods, and consequently had never been doomed to descend to the gloomy underworld of Hades like ordinary men. He inhabited the bright plains

of Paradise which extended around its entrance. Here he was seen "afar off" by Gisdhubar, who as a mortal was not allowed to pass beyond the river of death, but could converse with Xisuthros only across its waters. The story related by Xisuthros was as follows: "Let me reveal unto thee, O Gisdhubar, the story of my preservation, and let me tell to thee the oracle of the gods. The city of Surippak, the city which, as thou knowest, is built upon the Euphrates, this city was already ancient when the gods within it set their hearts to bring on a deluge, even the great gods as many as there are—their father Anu, their king the warrior Bel, their throne-bearer Adar, their prince En-nugi (Hades). Ea, the lord of wisdom, sat along with them, and repeated their decree for the round frame (of the boat): 'A circular frame of reeds for the hull; hear of the circular frame and understand the hull! O man of Surippak, son of Ubara-Tutu! Dig up the house, build the ship, save what thou canst of the germ of life. (The gods) will destroy the seed of life, but do thou live; and bid the seed of life of every kind mount into the midst of the ship. The ship which thou shalt build . . . cubits shall be its length in measure . . . cubits the content of its breadth and its height. (Above) the deep cover it in.' I understood and spake to Ea, my lord: 'The building of the ship which thou hast commanded thus, if it be done by me, the children of the people, and the old men (alike will laugh at me).' Ea opened his mouth and said, he speaks to me his servant: '(If they laugh at thee) thou shalt say unto them, (Every one) who has turned against me and (disbelieves the oracle that) has been given me . . . I will judge above and below. (But as for thee) shut (not) the door (until) the time comes of which I will send thee word. (Then) enter the door of the ship, and bring into the midst of it thy corn, thy property, and thy goods, thy (family), thy household, thy concubines and the sons of the people. The cattle of the field, the wild beasts of the field, as many as I would preserve, I will send unto thee,

and they shall keep thy door.' Xisuthros opened his mouth and speaks; he says to Ea, his lord: '(O my lord), no one yet has built a ship (in this fashion) on land to contain the beasts (of the field). (The plan?) let me see and the ship (I will build). On the land the ship (I will build) as thou hast commanded me.' . . . On the fifth day (after it was begun) in its circuit (?) fourteen measures its hull (measured); 14 measures measured (the roof) above it. I made it a dwelling-house (?) . . . I enclosed it. I compacted it 6 times, I divided (its passages) 7 times, I divided its interior (seven) times. Leaks for the waters in the midst of it I cut off. I saw the rents, and what was wanting I added. Three *sari* of bitumen I poured over the outside. Three *sari* of bitumen I poured over the inside. Three *sari* of men, carrying baskets, who carried on their heads food, I provided, even a *saros* of food for the people to eat, while two *sari* of food the boatmen shared. To (the gods) I caused oxen to be sacrificed; I (established offerings) each day. In (the ship), beer, oil, and wine (I collected) like the waters of a river, and (I heaped them up) like the dust (?) of the earth, and (in the ship) the food I placed with my hand. (With the help) of the Sun-god the compacting of the ship was finished; (all parts of the ship) were made strong, and I caused the tackling to be carried above and below. (Then of my household) went two-thirds: all that I had I heaped together; all that I had of silver I heaped together; all that I had of gold I heaped together; all that I had of the seed of life I heaped together. I brought the whole up into the ship; all my slaves and concubines, the cattle of the field, the beasts of the field, the sons of the people, all of them did I bring up. The season the Sun-god fixed, and he spake, saying: 'In the night will I cause the heaven to rain destruction. Enter into the midst of the ship, and close thy door.' The season came round; he spake, saying: 'In the night will I cause the heaven to rain destruction.' Of that day I reached the evening, the day which I watched



for with fear. I entered into the midst of the ship and shut the door, that I might close the ship. To Buzur-sadi-rabi the boatmen I gave the palace with all its goods. Then arose Mu-seri-ina-namari [the Water of Dawn at Daylight] from the horizon of heaven (like) a black cloud. Rimmon thundered in the midst of it and Nebo and the wind-god go in front; the throne-bearers go over mountain and plain; Nergal the mighty removes the wicked; Adar goes overthrowing all before him. The spirits of earth carried the flood; in their terribleness they sweep through the land; the deluge of Rimmon reaches unto heaven; all that was light to (darkness) was turned. (The surface) of the land like (fire?) they wasted; (they destroyed all) life from the face of the land; to battle against men they brought (the waters). Brother saw not his brother; men knew not one another. In heaven the gods feared the flood and sought a refuge; they ascended to the heaven of Anu. The gods, like a dog in his kennel, crouched down in a heap. Istar cries like a mother, the great goddess utters her speech: 'All to clay is turned, and the evil I prophesied in the presence of the gods, according as I prophesied evil in the presence of the gods, for the destruction of my people I prophesied (it) against them; and though I their mother have begotten my people, like the spawn of the fishes they fill the sea.' Then the gods were weeping with her because of the spirits of earth; the gods on a throne were seated in weeping; covered were their lips because of the coming evil. Six days and nights the wind, the flood, and the storm go on overwhelming. The 7th day when it approached the storm subsided, the flood which had fought against (men) like an armed host was quieted. The sea began to dry, and the wind and the flood ended. I watched the sea making a noise, and the whole of mankind was turned to clay; like reeds the corpses floated. I opened the window, and the light smote upon my face; I stooped and sat down; I weep, over my face flow my tears. I watch the

regions at the edge of the sea; a district rose 12 measures high. To the land of Nizir steered the ship; the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship, and it was not able to pass over it. The 1st day, the 2nd day the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship. The 3rd day, the 4th day the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship. The 5th day, the 6th day the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship. The 7th day, when it approached, I sent forth a dove, and it left. The dove went and returned and found no resting-place, and it came back. Then I sent forth a swallow, and it left. The swallow went and returned and found no resting-place, and it came back. I sent forth a raven, and it left. The raven went and saw the carrion on the water, and it ate; it wandered away wading; it did not return. I sent (the animals) forth to the four winds, I sacrificed a sacrifice. I built an altar on the peak of the mountain. I set vessels [each containing the third of an ephah] by sevens; underneath them I spread reeds, pine-wood, and spices. The gods smelt the savour; the gods smelt the good savour; the gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer. Thereupon the great goddess at her approach lighted up the rainbow which Anu had created for his glory. The crystal brilliance of those gods before me may I not forget; those days have I thought of, and never may I forget them. May the gods come to my altar; but may Bel not come to my altar, since he did not consider, but caused the flood, and he assigned my people to the deep. When thereupon Bel at his approach saw the ship, Bel stopped; he was filled with anger against the gods and the spirits of heaven: 'Let none come forth alive! let no man live in the deep!' Adar opened his mouth and spake; he says to the warrior Bel: 'Who except Ea can form a design? yea, Ea knows, and all things he communicates.' Ea opened his mouth and spake; he says to the warrior Bel: 'Thou, O warrior prince of the gods, why, why didst thou not consider, but causedst a flood? Let the doer of sin bear his sin, let the doer of wickedness

bear his wickedness. May the just prince not be cut off, may the faithful not be (destroyed). Instead of causing a flood, let lions increase that men may be minished; instead of causing a flood, let hyænas increase that men may be minished; instead of causing a flood, let a famine happen that men may be (wasted); instead of causing a flood, let plague increase that men may be (reduced). I did not reveal the determination of the great gods. To Xisuthros alone a dream I sent, and he heard the determination of the gods.' When Bel had again taken counsel with himself, he went up into the midst of the ship. He took my hand and bid me ascend, even me did he bid ascend; he united my wife to my side; he turned himself to us and joined himself to us in covenant; he blesses us (thus): 'Hitherto Xisuthros has been a mortal man, but now Xisuthros and his wife are united together in being raised to be like the gods; yea, Xisuthros shall dwell afar off at the mouth of the rivers.' They took me, and afar off at the mouth of the rivers they made me dwell."

The land of Nizir was among the Kurdish mountains of Pir Mam, to the north-east of Babylonia. They are the Gordyenian or Kurdish mountains of Bêrôssos on which he makes the ark to have rested. "The mountain of Nizir" must be Rowandiz, the highest and most conspicuous of them all. It was identified with "the mountain of the world" or "the mountain of the east," which was the Olympus of Accadian mythology, and the supposed support of the vault of heaven.

Gen. vi. 14.—Instead of the Babylonian ship the Bible speaks of a *tébhâh* or "ark." The word *tébhâh* is believed to be of Egyptian origin, and has been connected with the Egyptian *teb*, "a coffer." Both in Egypt and in Babylonia the gods were carried in arks, which were often borne on men's shoulders by means of staves. In Babylonia these arks were termed "ships," and the ark of Ea was conceived

of as a real ship, since it was said that he had sailed across the sea in it to the help of his son Merodach in the struggle against the dragon of the deep. It will be noticed that in one place the ship of Xisuthros is called "a palace," the word used being identical with the Hebrew *nekál* which sometimes denotes the "palace" of heaven (e.g. Isa. vi. 1).

The Hebrew *kopher* is the same word as the Assyro-Babylonian *kupru*, "pitch" or "bitumen," for which Babylonia was famous. In the Chaldean account of the Deluge the ark is pitched within and without.

Gen. vi. 15.—In the Chaldean account the breadth and height of the ark are the same.

Gen. vii. 1.—Among the numerous traditions and legends of a Deluge found all over the world, the Chaldean account stands alone in agreeing with the Bible in attributing it to the sins of mankind. Xisuthros is saved by Ea because he is pious; the rest of mankind are destroyed because of their wickedness. Indeed the very remarkable statement is put into the mouth of Ea: "Let the doer of wickedness bear his own wickedness, [but] let the just prince not be cut off." We should look almost in vain for a similar sentiment in the early literature of other heathen nations. The parallel of the 18th chapter of Ezekiel will at once occur to the reader.

Gen. vii. 2.—We may compare with this verse the statement of the Chaldean account of the Deluge, that Xisuthros "set vessels by sevens" on the altar which he raised after the flood.

Gen. vii. 11.—"The second month" would correspond with Marchesvan, the eighth month of the Babylonian year, whereas the Chaldean account places the Deluge in Sebat, the eleventh month. Marchesvan answers roughly to October, Sebat to January.

Gen. viii. 4, 5.—"The tenth month" was the fourth month of the Babylonian year, Jammuy (our June), while the seventh

month was the first month of the Babylonian calendar, Nisan or March. An Assyrian astronomical report states that on the 15th of Nisan "the day and the night" were balanced, that is to say, were equal in length, owing to the occurrence of the vernal equinox.

Gen. viii. 7-12.—It will be noticed that in the Babylonian account another bird, the swallow, is introduced, that the dove is sent out from the ship or ark once only, and that the raven is the last and not the first bird to be let fly.

Gen. viii. 13.—The first month is the Babylonian Tisri, our September.

Gen. viii. 21.—It is curious to find the same expression in the Hebrew text and the Babylonian account of the Deluge, "the gods smelt the sweet savour" of the sacrifice, the Babylonian poet only substituting the polytheistic plural for "the Lord" of Scripture.

Gen. ix. 1.—It will have been noticed that the Babylonian account of the Deluge says of the rainbow that "Anu had created" it. Anu was the god of the sky, and among the Babylonians stood at the head of the pantheon. A mutilated Assyrian tablet describes his creation of the bow "in the assembly of the gods." It was identified with a constellation called "the star of the bow," and was carried by Merodach in his battle against Tiamat the dragon of chaos.

Gen. ix. 20.—The vine is supposed to have originally been indigenous in Armenia, from whence it was carried into other parts of the world. Armenia was called Ararat by the Assyrians and Hebrews, the name being written Urardhu in the cuneiform inscriptions. It was the title given to the country north of Assyria which stretched northwards to Lake Van, and the capital of which was Dhuspas or Tosp, now known as Van. On the native monuments it is called Biainis, a name from which the modern *Van* is derived. "The mountains of Ararat" on which the ark rested, according to the Bible, are the western continuation of the Kurdish

range which bounded Assyria on the north. It is only in modern times that the resting-place of the ark has been transferred to the lofty peak to the north of Lake Van, which in the Biblical period was not included in Ararat at all. In early Jewish legend the ark was supposed to have rested on the summit of Mount Lubar or Baris, which separated the land of Ararat from that of the Minni, and is identical with the Kotûr mountains of modern geography. The Babylonian account of the Deluge makes Rowandiz, in the eastern part of the Kurdish range, the mountain which "stopped" the ship of Xisuthros, and it is possible that it is also meant in Gen. viii. 4, where the expression "mountains" (not mountain) "of Ararat" is employed. "The mountains of Ararat" formed one with those of Pir Mam and Rowandiz, though the latter lay to the east of the land of Ararat itself.

A. H. SAYCE

## THE POWER OF SATAN—SOME THOUGHTS ON A DIFFICULT PROBLEM.

THE power of evil is not only a very large subject, it is one of great practical importance. It touches us most nearly. Evil in the concrete surrounds and pervades our life and its surroundings at every point: in the abstract, this power of evil, as seen in the workings of nature, is the most difficult problem faith is called upon to solve.

Look where we will, on every side we find difficulties and anomalies. We meet with them in the contemplation of the universe itself. If waste of power be an evil, then evil shows itself as our gaze rests upon the very heavens. The planet nearest to us, if astronomers are to be believed, is a dead world; the planet, which is the giant of our group, is not as yet, after all these millenniums, ripe to sustain life. And the same waste of power that we find in our little system, is found repeated among the hosts of the stars. Not to speak of other diversities, the nature of which we cannot as yet guess at understanding, the stars, of which our own sun is but an insignificant one, are divided into white stars, and yellow stars, and red stars, the colour denoting the stage of existence to which it has attained. Nor is it only waste of power that confronts us in the stellar world. Now and again the message comes to us of some terrible catastrophe in those far-off regions. It will happen that some star will suddenly blaze out with a light which gives it a brightness many times greater than its normal condition. But additional light and brightness mean additional heat. What would happen to us, if the light and heat of our sun were suddenly raised some seven times greater than its normal condition? We should be all scorched to death. But there is every reason

to believe that the stars of the universe are mighty suns, each with its own planetary world dependent upon it. What happens, then, in that unknown world in the depths of space, when our astronomers in their observatories note that some star, hardly visible to the naked eye, has increased in light-giving power, so as to rank for a time as one of the second magnitude? Does it not speak of some terrible convulsion of nature carrying in its train death and ruin?

The facts, so far as we can read them, seem to point towards a general law. There is evil, but there is also good; but the good appears to outweigh the evil, and the tendency seems to be towards good.

These things, it may be said, are but speculations. The facts we know; the true significance of the facts we can only guess at. If they are only guesses, these guesses are sufficiently appalling. Let us turn to our own little world—the earth we ourselves inhabit. Here at least we have neither guesses nor speculations; here we have facts, present to our consciousness, passing before our very eyes, the significance of which the most simple and ignorant cannot misunderstand.

There is what we call nature. Poets, especially the more shallow ones, call upon us to admire nature. They point out her many beauties. Does she not cover every unsightly object with the beautiful veil of her luxuriant vegetation? Does she not deck the earth with verdure soft and pleasing to the eye? Does she not paint the flowers with gorgeous colouring such as no artist can imitate? Is not her robe a robe of beauty, and is not her face glorious? Her murmurs, are they not symphonies? Her many voices, are they not full of lovely harmonies? Is not light pleasant to the eyes? Is not the darkness sweet to the wearied nerves? Does not the sea sparkle and shimmer in the sunlight with varying colours of blue and sapphire and green, and little white crests of foam, forming a picture of ever new and ever changing delight? A fair and beautiful world truly!



But what is the reverse of this charming picture? Is not nature cruel? The beautiful sea, is it not lashed by the storm and tornado; does it not engulf ships; does it not demand men for its prey? These beautiful flowers, are not many of them—I cannot recall how many species—very traps to catch the unsuspecting fly; and do they not actually feed upon and nourish themselves by their victims? What is the principle of existence? Throughout nature do we not find that one species furnishes the food on which its superior in life's scale shall live? Birds, and beasts, and fishes, and men, do they not all prey one upon another? Nay, further, do we not meet with something very like torture in the animal world? Some recently-discovered facts in natural history show that wasps are able to destroy the motor nerves of prey intended for their young, thus leaving them alive and capable of feeling, while they are incapable of movement and resistance, just as the physiologist, in his cruel experiments, curarizes the dog or cat in his laboratory. Other facts—such, for instance, as the number of birds remaining constant, in spite of the large number of young which a single pair can rear—show how much suffering nature causes by the multiplication of more mouths than there is food to supply, or by the action of cold and frost. I am carefully avoiding any reference to the suffering caused by man. I am only recording the natural facts by which the normal working of nature can be perceived; the general and acknowledged principles by which life, as we know it on our earth, is upheld and sustained. But, coincident with this principle, there is another principle in nature. Birds and other creatures die because the food supply is not sufficient for all, or because some arrogate to themselves more than their due share. We know how this last-named principle works itself out in practice. The weak, the defenceless succumb and die; the hardy, the strong conquer and survive.

Charles Darwin was the great naturalist who showed the

meaning of this principle in nature. It means the "survival of the fittest." That is to say, by the destruction of the weak, the sickly, the less powerful, room is given for the increase of the strong, the healthy, the more powerful. These alone are allowed by nature's plan to produce and rear a progeny; and by the repeated action of such a law there is a similar elimination in each successive generation, so that the race is always becoming better—stronger, more courageous, more swift, more ready for the battle of life, and more able to sustain it. Thus the race profits, but at the expense of the individual. Thus there is a large amount of suffering, and suffering continued in every generation; but the result is on the whole decidedly beneficial to the race.

So here again, on our earth, as in the universe of the heavens, we find two opposing tendencies,—a tendency towards evil, a tendency towards good; and we note further that the general drift of the tendency is towards good, and not towards evil.

I turn now to the human race—to man. The same law, though with many modifications, again meets us.

It meets us in man's physical world. There is no need to go back very far; there is no occasion to refer to prehistoric times. In our own times, in different parts of the world, we can find man in nearly every stage of development. Amongst savage nations the law of the survival of the fittest—which is nature's law—holds absolutely good. Where there is but little food, and that little precarious; where everything is consumed at once without thought for the morrow, and no provision is made for times when food is not,—it follows necessarily that the weakest must go to the wall. In so far the race is improved. But the improvement is very slight compared to that which brain-power produces. The power of thought modifies the race in a far greater degree than any blind law of nature. Nothing, physically, can be more harmful than occasional gluttony succeeded by long intervals of

fasting. Thought, by suggesting provident care, remedies this great evil; and by securing a constant supply of food increases the physical power of the race. It accomplishes this notwithstanding that nature's prime law is put into abeyance; notwithstanding that the weak as well as the strong survive, and are allowed to propagate the race. Nature does not produce the noble savage; he is to be found only in the pages of Fenimore Cooper and similar romancists. When the civilised man—i.e. the man of brain-power—comes in contact with the savage, he is physically the better man;—constitutionally stronger, and capable of greater endurance. And then nature's law comes once more into action. The fittest survives, and the savage is improved off the earth. The savage suffers: the race is improved and bettered.

Once more the two opposing tendencies are found,—a tendency toward evil, a tendency toward good; and the general drift of the tendency is towards good.

The same law holds good in man's moral world.

A matter to which experience and the Bible alike bear witness need not detain us very long. *Experientia docet*; experience teaches. But experience nearly always means failure. A man, without due consideration, and without knowledge of the person's character, trusts one who calls himself his friend, and loss is the result. A woman blinded by impulse, and rejecting the wise counsels of those better qualified to judge, trusts a man, and sorrow comes of it. The youth, entering upon life, sees the future through a rose-coloured light which his imagination and dreams supply, and experience strips off each deceiving illusion, leaving him a wiser, if a sadder man. But it is the Bible which teaches what may be called the philosophy of experience. For the Bible goes behind the scene, and shows the purport of the play. It acknowledges all the evil in the world with as much openness as the veriest cynic; it owns that pain, and sorrow, and tears are the natural heritage of man as clearly and decisively as the most

bitter pessimist. The disappointed man, or the man who has suffered loss, or the woman who has to fret out her life through long days and nights of sickness, come to the Bible, and in its pages find that all this has been foretold, and that man, in some form or other, is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward. But while the cynic and the pessimist stop at this point, and, sitting with listless hands, know only how to complain, the Bible offers the explanation. Just as the natural philosopher explains how it happens that the sparks fly upward, so the Bible, at all events in man's moral world, explains for what purpose the trouble comes. As worldly experience makes men more fit to live in the world wherein he has his being, so, from a moral point of view, it teaches that the object of all suffering and pain is to make man better—purer, truer, holier, more fit for that other world wherein his true life shall be. The correction, which in the present is grievous, afterward yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteousness unto them that are exercised thereby. It must not be thought that this solves the whole problem; it does not do so. It tells us the how; it does not tell us the why. It tells us what is the object of suffering in man; it does not tell us why some less painful mode than that of suffering should not have been made use of.

And if evil resulting in good is a principle dominating the race, so the same principle is discernible in the individual.

The nature of man is evil; but there is in him also a tendency towards good. Man is cruel, pitiless, revengeful, vindictive; he is petty, mean, niggardly, and underhand; he is miserly, avaricious, and a spendthrift; he is proud, boastful, vain, conceited, and overbearing; he is passionate, headstrong, and evil-tempered; he is the slave of his own evil lusts and desires; he is cold, and heartless, and worldly. The catalogue of evil qualities is not nearly complete, but they may be all summed up in one single word—selfish. Selfishness lies at

the root of all crime, all vice, all sin. And all men are selfish. But there is also the opposite quality—self-sacrifice; and this quality also to some extent finds its home in every human heart. So all through life there is a struggle going on between these two contending principles;—on the one hand, selfishness leading a man to seek his own pleasure, his own gratification, what he is pleased to call his own good, at the expense of others; on the other hand, there is self-sacrifice inducing a man to give up his own will and his own desires for the good of others. There is the evil and the good contending. Elsewhere, as we have seen, the tendency is always towards good; the evil works towards the good. It is so in the human race as distinctly as in the animal kingdom. But how is it in the individual man? If this little span of life were all, the question would be doubtful; perhaps it would not be doubtful; and we might with shame and sorrow be forced to own that in man evil was triumphant. The Bible maintains a curious silence as to what shall be in the unknown state of being towards which all are hastening. There are but two hints, and they are very vague. But so far as they go they are reassuring. Christ went and preached to the spirits in prison. The text is of doubtful and difficult interpretation. The other hint is clearer. Dives in the parable had become better, not worse, in Hades. He still thought that Lazarus was his poor dependent to do his pleasure. But his selfishness was dropping away from him. He did not say, as boys say, as too often women say, as men say sometimes, I have suffered, let others suffer in their turn; but the prayer, which he found useless to assuage his own pain, is still continued in order to save others from the like pain: "I have five brethren; send him to my father's house, lest they also come to this place of torment." It is only the slightest hint, but its drift is that selfishness shall die out in that unseen state, and evil, there as elsewhere, shall be overcome of good.

A far stronger reason for believing that in man good shall be the eventual result of the evil we now find in him, lies in the character of God. God's work would be indeed marred if the end of the glory and crown of intellectual creation was to be a moral ruin.

There is another point with regard to man which should not be lost sight of. The evil and the good in nature, so far as nature herself is concerned, are blind forces. There is no will in vegetation. Flowers did not consciously grow into the lovely things they have become. There was in them no desire to be different to what they were, and no conscious striving. The rose has become the pride of the garden through no effort of her own will. And in the animal world, exclusive of man, there is no trace of design on the part of the creatures themselves. Hunger and sexual passion have made the brute races stronger, swifter, hardier. A law, which they could not control, and of which they had no knowledge, killed off the weaker, and preserved those who were fitter to survive. They were but blind, senseless instruments in the hand of a higher power. They lived and died with greater consciousness of pain and pleasure than the cabbage or the lettuce, but with no greater consciousness of the silent, ever-working law which was moulding their destinies and the destiny of their race. But with man it is different. I am not going to enter upon the controversy as to the freedom of the will. Man, unlike the world of nature, is conscious of nature's laws. He may not always understand them rightly. He may make grievous errors for which he will have to pay the penalty. But he recognises the laws which obtain around him. He knows their bearing and their force. He can use them to serve his own ends and purposes, and he does so use them. The face of nature is not as nature made it, because man acting always on the lines of law has changed her for his better use. The very animals are not as they would be, because man, having gained the knowledge of the laws which

regulate their being, has adapted them to his service. The inferior races of mankind give way before the brain-power of the superior, and are modified as the negro, or are swept from the earth as the American Indian or the Maori. And this does not happen by chance as in the case of the vegetable and animal kingdoms. It is the direct work of thought, working towards a distinct and well-grasped end. And the same holds good with the individual man. He sees and recognises that his life is regulated by certain fixed laws which he cannot change or alter, but to which he can adapt himself. He knows, in the main, that as he adapts himself to these laws his life will be good, and also good for himself; that they come to him, as Moses to the Israelites of old, holding in their hands a blessing or a curse according as he conforms himself to their requirements. Oftentimes he does not so conform himself, because desire, or passion, or selfishness in one of its hundred forms, seduces him from the right. But he remains always a conscious agent, with the power of choice, at all events with the power of choice for all practical purposes. Of all creation, to him alone is it given to work with God towards good, or to work with the power of evil towards evil.

Let me gather up into one head what has been said.

Throughout the universe evil may be seen contending with good. Thus in the stellar world there is what seems to us waste of power, and sometimes changes in the appearance of certain stars which denote a terrible catastrophe. In the animal and vegetable kingdoms there is ever going on a struggle for existence causing suffering and pain to the weaker. Among the races of mankind a similar law prevails, so that the weaker races—weak alike in their physical constitution and in their brain-power—have to succumb to the stronger. In the individual a like discordance may be observed, man's selfishness driving him towards evil, his better qualities towards the good. And further, through all, we noticed that

although the evil existed, yet the evil was so overruled that in nearly all cases from the evil good resulted. The waste of power makes worlds habitable; the survival of the fittest results in an improvement of the race; by the destruction of savage nations a larger scope is afforded for the wiser and more powerful; even with regard to the individual, although in this case the tendency is unhappily less marked, we may well hope that in the end good shall prevail over evil.

So throughout the world there is a dual principle at work,—good and evil, light and darkness, let me say it with reverence, God and Satan.

In former days a great deal used to be heard about the devil. Perhaps a good deal was injudicious. In the present day men run into the opposite extreme. The devil perhaps is too much left out of the modern pulpit. Some of the problems which trouble us so much might be made clearer and more easy of comprehension if we heard more about him. Not as a grotesque person such as the older theology represented him, but as a person embodying a principle of evil.

Let us glance for a moment at the theological history of this question. The dual principle, concerning which so much has been said, was thoroughly recognised in the East. In all Eastern religions we find two co-ordinate principles, good and evil, light and darkness, Mithras and Hyle; and these two principles are always represented as in conflict each with the other. And they are also represented as co-ordinate; that is to say, as contending with each other on pretty equal terms, although in the end victory shall remain with good. In the classic Western world this distinction between good and evil was not so marked. The Easterns were theologians, the Western world was very little under the influence of theology, and did not readily embark on theological speculations. In the Greek and Roman pantheon good and evil gods were mixed up in an inextricable medley. No god was wholly good; no god was wholly evil. These gods were in fact



nothing more than the projection of man's mind upon the shadow cloud of fancy. When, however, we turn to savage nations the principle again confronts us. There is almost invariably a good spirit. There is invariably a malignant spirit. Evil being much more perceptible in its effects than good, the malignant spirit is far more thought of than the good spirit. To it invocations are offered; to it vows are made; to it the knee is bended in deprecatory prayer; to it the best and choicest are brought as conciliatory sacrifices. The Jews, equally with the nations by whom they were surrounded, recognised these two diverse principles. But the Jews had God's revelation. They had the Bible which we still possess, and which is to us equally as to them God's revelation. What, then, is the teaching of the Bible with reference to Satan, as the person embodying the principle of evil?

First of all, Satan himself is God's creature. If one fact more than another is asserted in the Bible, it is that God is the Creator of all things. By Him, and in Him, all things subsist. Then we come to the second great fact, that Satan rebelled against God,—and not Satan only, but Satan and his angels. But the fact is all that we know. Many people imagine that they know much more, because Milton has woven the Satanic legend into *Paradise Lost*. But Scripture gives us only a knowledge of the fact of the rebellion; all the rest is speculation.

Satan meets us at the very opening of the Scripture story. Under the form of the serpent he beguiled Eve. The account should be carefully studied. One fact is specially worth consideration. Satan is to be punished; but God does not deprive him of future power to do harm. He is represented to us as a rebellious vassal, who indeed is conquered, but whose power is not wholly subdued. And the most striking part of the narrative is contained in the promise to Eve. The key to this narrative has been given to us by Christianity.

It tells of a continued conflict between good and evil; it speaks even of a warfare between Satan and God Himself. For the promised seed is no other than the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, equal to and one with the Father. And Christ is not to go scatheless in that battle. Victory, indeed, is to remain with the Eternal Son; but, though Satan's head is to be crushed, the heel of the seed of the woman is to be bruised. How the battle was waged, how the victory was gained at Gethsemane and Calvary, may be reverted to farther on. The fact to which attention should be drawn is, that the conflict was not docetic, *i.e.* not only in appearance, but thoroughly real and earnest.

The opening verses of Genesis vi. may be passed over as not bearing upon the subject; the appearances of Satan in the Book of Job are sufficiently important to be considered separately; but I would point out that, although the existence of Satan is thoroughly recognised in the Old Testament, the actual references are very few indeed. There is a passing allusion in the Psalms: "Let Satan stand at his right hand;" Satan is also introduced in the Book of Zechariah,—a book written after the captivity,—where he is represented as standing as an adversary to Joshua the high priest, and God, speaking, says: "The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan." During the wanderings in the desert, the Psalms speak of God as having sent evil angels among the Israelites. These are, I think, the only passages, except one, in which Satan is mentioned. The word devil does not, so far as I know, occur at all in the New Testament; it occurs in the plural, and then always in one connection, *viz.* sacrifices offered to devils. It is, in fact, the equivalent of the devils, or rather demons,—represented sometimes as evil spirits, sometimes as false gods,—which meet us continually in the New Testament. It is very noticeable that Satan, as a person embodying the principle of evil, is mentioned much oftener in the New Testament than in the Old. Before, however, turning to the New Testa-

ment, there is one passage in the Old Testament, not yet instanced, to which a brief reference must be made. It is the story of David numbering the children of Israel. In the sin of David with Bathsheba, and its consequent punishment, no mention is made of Satan. The sin is spoken of as if it were the act of David himself, unprompted by an external source of evil. But not so with the lesser sin of numbering the people. In this case Satan is introduced. And he is introduced, not so much as the tempter of David, as the adversary of Israel. "And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel." The quotation is from the Chronicles. If we turn to the account given in 2 Samuel we find there no mention of Satan. God is introduced as the moving cause. "Again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and He moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel." We see here Satan acting, as is his nature, for evil; but he acts, not of his own proper motion, but as God's vassal performing God's behest. Altogether the narrative gives a most interesting glimpse of the wheel within wheel of the government of the world. To David himself the sin is *his* sin. The punishment, he argues, should fall upon him and his father's house; for what, he says, have these sheep done? But the sinners, in the first instance, were the Israelites; and David is moved to sin for the purpose of punishing their transgression. Also, while in one narrative God is the principal actor, in the other the whole matter is ascribed to the hatred and ill-will of Satan against the people.

Let us now turn to the New Testament, and inquire what it teaches concerning Satan.

It is very noteworthy that the teaching of the New Testament is much more precise, or perhaps I should say, much more extended, than that of the Old Testament. It is not what might have been expected. We should have thought that the ages of ignorance would have occupied themselves more concerning an evil and malignant spirit than times

comparatively more enlightened. And what is calculated to make a still deeper impression upon the mind is that Satan is mentioned more often in the Gospel than in the whole of the New Testament. It is our Lord Himself who recognises this power of Satan. Our Lord speaks of him more times than he is adverted to in the Old Testament. With Christ all evil—physical evil and moral evil—is the direct work of Satan. The woman bound down by her infirmity has Satan to thank for it: "Whom Satan has bound, lo! these eighteen years." The Jews, who rejected Christ, were "of their father the devil." It is not Peter who tempts the Lord, but Satan through his mouth: "Get thee behind me, Satan." The betrayal is accomplished because "Satan entered into Judas Iscariot." Satan, as the personal embodiment of the principle of evil, is ever in opposition to Christ. It is Satan who "taketh away the word" out of men's hearts. It is Satan who desired to sift Peter as wheat. At the crucifixion it is the hour of the power of darkness. But the victory is to rest with the good. At the very first preaching of the gospel, Christ, looking forward to the end, sees Satan, as lightning, fall from heaven.

Certain incidents and expressions in the New Testament throw much light upon the position and power of Satan. Thus in the temptation Satan claims to possess all the power and glory of the kingdoms of the world, and our Lord does not contradict him. To St. Paul Satan is the prince of this world. St. Paul likewise speaks of him as the prince of the power of the air, an expression which receives an indirect corroboration from the words of Christ, when He, speaking as if to a person, rebuked the wind. Jude, evidently quoting from a Jewish legend, represents the archangel Michael as contending with Satan about the body of Moses; here the two—the archangel and Satan—are represented as co-ordinate powers, Michael contenting himself with repeating the words used in Zechariah: "The Lord rebuke thee." As by our Lord, so by His apostles, Satan is always represented as the

adversary. It is Satan who fills the heart of Ananias to lie unto the Holy Ghost ; it is Satan who tempts to incontinency ; it is Satan who hinders St. Paul in his work of evangelizing ; it is the devil who is our adversary, who, if we resist him, will flee from us ; it is the devil who committeth sin, and entices men to do so ; it is the devil who casts the saints of God into prison. And as in the Gospels so also in the writings of the apostles, the victory is assured to the good. Christ shall heal all those who are oppressed by the devil ; and in the end—if that be indeed the final end—the devil, who deceived men, was cast into the lake of fire.

From these facts and assertions one inference is undoubted. There is a conflict going on between good and evil ; and that conflict is a real one. It is an actual struggle ; nor is the struggle less real because the end is sure—because at last good shall triumph. Thus what has met us in the physical universe, in the vegetable and animal kingdoms of the earth, among the races of mankind, and in the heart and mind of the individual man, meets us again in the spirit world. And this conflict between good and evil in the spirit world appears to be the key to explain and partially make clear that conflict between good and evil which is found everywhere else. It seems, I say, to explain why sin with its concomitant train of misery, wretchedness, suffering, pain, cruelty, vice, brutality, and general selfishness, exists on our earth.

This matter is worth looking into much more closely, and therefore it is well to consider certain passages in which the working of Satan and the working of God are detailed at some length.

The first of these is the appearance of Satan among the sons of God, as narrated in the Book of Job, and the consequent misfortunes which befell that patriarch.

Satan is represented as coming from going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it. He appears, to borrow an expression from the Apocalypse, as the accuser of the brethren. In answer to God's question whether he

had considered his servant, Job, he replies: "Does Job fear God for nought?" And he receives permission, first to destroy his property, afterwards to touch the man himself. Here, then, we have a distinct instance of God *permitting* Satan to act. The evil spirit, it is implied, had not the power to touch Job, either in property or person, without the permission of God. God appears paramount; the devil, as his most humble slave, powerless for evil, unless the power be first accorded to him. This instance is strongly against the general argument of this essay; but truth, and not the upholding of any theory or speculation, is the one thing to be sought. The government of the world could be much more easily explained if this permission could be got rid of, if Satan could be made directly responsible, as he is undoubtedly indirectly responsible, for all the evil that exists in it.

The next passage to which attention should be directed is that exceedingly interesting one in which St. Paul speaks of the thorn in the flesh as being a messenger of Satan. To understand its full significance, the circumstance had better be narrated in language other than that used by the apostle.

St. Paul had been telling his Corinthian converts of all that he had done and suffered in the cause of Christ and His gospel. He had boasted of being a Hebrew of the Hebrews; of its being idle to compare himself with the apostles of Christ, because he so far exceeded them all in his labours and his sufferings. He tells how he journeyed by sea and by land; how he had suffered perils from robbers, from the heathen, from his own countrymen, from false brethren; that in the city and in the wilderness alike dangers threatened him; how he had served in hunger, and thirst, and cold, and nakedness; how pain and weariness, not to speak of anxiety for the churches he had founded, were his daily bread; how he had been shipwrecked, and put in prison, and scourged by the Jews, and beaten by the lictors' rods, and even had been stoned and left for dead. He then proceeds to speak of the revelations which had been vouchsafed to him. How he had

been caught up to the third heaven ; how he had been translated to Paradise ; how he had heard unspeakable words which man could not utter. And as he speaks thus he remembers what he is ;—that he is Paul ; proud, headstrong, overbearing ; desirous ever to be first ; determined that his companions shall bow ever to his decisions, and yield themselves always to his will. And remembering this, he remembers something else. That he has to carry a thorn in the flesh ; that his eyes are weak ; his limbs partially paralysed. And he recognises the reason of it all : that he should be kept humble ; that he should not be exalted above measure. It was a grievous burden for him to carry ;—grievous to himself personally, more grievous still because it was, or seemed to him, an hindrance to his work. For this he besought the Lord. The answer came, that it was the cross Christ had laid upon him, and that he was to carry it for Christ's sake ; but that in the bearing grace should be given him, and he might be content because God's strength was perfected in weakness.

It must be observed that in the latter sentences I have diverged widely from the text ; but in the description such language has been used as any good man might have made use of in describing a sorrow which he had to bear for Christ's sake, and which he recognised as being a wholesome discipline to keep him humble. Scripture authorized such language fully. But St. Paul in the text introduced an altogether new idea. This cross—good though it be in its results—is not God-given, but comes from the devil. It is the messenger of Satan to buffet him. Nowhere else in the New Testament is pain or suffering, which is of the nature of a cross, spoken of after this fashion. It throws a whole flood of light on the mystery of suffering, and seems to imply that suffering, even as a means of salvation, is not God's method, but, like all evil, is the work of the devil, which God overrules for good. I had almost said—but I do not dare to say it—that suffering and pain do not enter into God's plan of the government of the world, but proceed from him who is the source of all evil ;

that God takes this evil, of which He is not the author, and turns it into good. We must notice, however, that St. Paul implies, though it is not so stated explicitly, that God could have removed the thorn in spite of the devil, but that He would not do so, because, although it came from Satan, it was doing His work.

That which perhaps is most of all calculated to throw light upon the working of Satan, and upon the manner in which God works with reference to him, is the history of the Lord Jesus Christ. Here Satan is brought into direct relation with God in the person of His Son. The indirect action of Satan upon Christ's life through the influence of men—such, for instance, as the flight into Egypt caused by Satan through the medium of Herod—may be passed over in silence. The inquiry, then, commences with the temptation. Especially must it be borne in mind that the temptation was not docetic, *i.e.* in appearance only. The temptation was most real, as real as in the case of ourselves. So in the temptation there is proof of a distinct conflict. Christ did not vanquish Satan at once, without effort, by the exercise of authority, because He was the Son of God. It was only after battle waged, after a contest between two opposing forces, both of which *were* forces, that Satan withdrew discomfited. And more than this; even then his discomfiture was but for the moment. He withdrew only "for a season." We call the struggle between Christ and the devil in the wilderness *the* temptation; but it was rather *a* temptation; one, and but one, of those many temptations, one or two of which have been recorded, to which the Saviour was exposed all through His earthly life. And, as has already been pointed out, in this temptation Satan arrogates to himself a certain authority and power which the Lord does not disallow. The temptation is human; Christ was tempted as being man, and because He was man, and through the needs, and requirements, and weaknesses of His human nature. But this was of necessity. Satan might rebel against God, might assert his power



against Him, but there was no possible point of contact by which Satan could tempt God. The temptation could be only through the human nature.

Our Lord's whole life was a life of temptation. Much, of course, of this temptation would be the indirect work of Satan; the temptation coming through circumstances which Satan overruled, or, still more frequently, through men whom Satan caused to be the adversaries of Christ. But in these temptations Christ recognises the hand of Satan. This is so in two remarkable instances. When St. Peter would withdraw Christ from the death of pain which awaited Him, the Lord, as already pointed out, notes in the evil suggestion Satan as prompting the words. So again when at the close of His ministry Greeks came desiring to see Him, Satan lays hold of their harmless request to insinuate his temptation. For it was by His death that the Greeks—representatives of the Gentile world—should come to behold Him. It was only by being lifted on the painful cross that Christ should draw all men unto Him. And, as in the first temptation, there is here again a real struggle. The devil is not put aside as possessing no power of his own; but by a supreme effort of the will he is vanquished, and the Son of God gets strength to say, "Father, glorify Thy name."

If the power of Satan is illustrated by the temptation, how much more is it shown forth in the passion and death of Christ. This was the great battle between good and evil. Here God and Satan met. And the old prophecy spoken long ago was fulfilled. The Saviour's heel was bruised, even if Satan's head was crushed. It was truly a battle, not without scars. Read of the Saviour's agony in the Garden of Gethsemane; hear His prayer; see Him prostrate on the ground; listen to His cry, "My soul is exceeding troubled, even unto death;" mark the sweat of blood. Truly a battle not without scars. Does not the agony of Christ throw some light on the agony of all creation? Does it not appear to teach that all the suffering we see, and which tries our faith so sorely, is not the work of God, but is

the devil's work ; may I say, in God's despite ? And does not the closing scene at Calvary teach the same lesson ? He who suffers is not man, but God. And these men around the cross, they know not what they do ; they are but blind instruments doing the will of another, and that other Satan. The death of Christ—of the Son of God—may reconcile us to many evils which without it were inexplicable. It does not solve the mystery of pain and evil, because God is stronger than the devil ; but it makes the mystery less hard. Through Satan, God Himself, in human form, suffered. May not that tremendous fact take away the sting from nearly all the suffering in creation ? I say take away the sting ; I do not say, take away the suffering itself. For it seems that the sting of suffering lies in this : God could cause the suffering to cease, and He does not do so. I look around the world, and everywhere I see pain. Among the lower creatures hunger, cold, starvation, unsatisfied desire, battle with its consequent wounds and death ; and I see also that frightful mass of suffering, larger by far than any of the preceding, which man by his superior power causes among animals. Mr. Mill wrote three famous essays, in which he declares that this suffering in the brute creation prevented him from believing in a God who was beneficent. Does not Calvary, showing as it does that Satan is the author of evil, afford some answer to Mr. Mill's strictures ? Does not Gethsemane—the agony of the Son of God—tend to show that evil, and pain, and suffering may exist in the world, and yet that God may be good ? This essay is no idle theological disquisition. It is written by my heart. It is an attempt to answer to my own heart this terrible question of the world's suffering and sin. The answer leaves large room for faith. It does not do away with the difficulty ; but I think it throws a ray of light across it. I think it is a very great gain if we can reasonably believe that all evil comes from Satan ; that the dual principle of good and evil which meets us everywhere in the

universe, and on the earth, and, thank God, in our Bible also, exists in the spirit world. Holy Scripture is clear enough on one point: evil could not be destroyed without the sacrifice of the Son of God Himself. Surely that is a fact worth pondering. Surely it is a fact which we may remember with infinite satisfaction. When I read of some horrible act of cruelty, and when the thought is borne in upon my mind that this act of cruelty of which I read is but one instance of hundreds of other similar ones which are being daily perpetrated, I may take refuge in a better thought, viz. that through the power of Satan God's own Son was made to submit to the pain of the cross.

The world's history contains a brighter page. Pain, and suffering, and death are not eternal. Satan has been vanquished. His very victory was his defeat. The death of Christ gave the death-blow to Satan's power. His power has not ceased, but it shall cease. It is doomed. It is in the saddest and most solemn of all her offices that our Church reminds us that Christ shall reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet; that He shall put down all rule, and authority, and power. And that when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all. Then when evil shall be destroyed, or rather, when all evil shall be merged and swallowed up in good, shall be sung a pæan of praise such as creation never heard before, the new song before the throne of God. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing. And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying: Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever. Amen.

HENRY N. BERNARD.

## THE PATRIARCHAL TIMES.

## III.—THE CRADLE OF THE RACE.

THE questions of man's origin and antiquity, or of the mode and time of his appearing on this planet, having been considered,<sup>1</sup> it naturally follows to inquire into the place and condition in which he appeared. From what particular spot of earth did the human race take its departure when it set forth upon the journey of existence? What region of the globe formed its cradle or birthplace? What was the character of its infancy? Howsoever, whensoever, wheresoever produced, what was the condition — physical, intellectual, and moral—in which the original progenitor of the race appeared? Did he emerge upon the stage of being in possession of a full-orbed manhood, with the powers and capacities of his soul, if not completely developed, at least entirely provided, as the Pallas Athene of Grecian mythology sprang fully armed from the head of Zeus, chanting a war-song and poising a spear? Or did he slowly urge his way forward and upward, with incalculable labour and through a long series of years, perhaps centuries, from a state of brutish ignorance and savageism to that of enlightenment and culture? In other words, has the course of human history been from barbarism to civilisation, not in individual instances merely, but upon the whole? Or, were the early men by whom the earth was peopled possessed of large capacity and pronounced intelligence, as in all probability, judging from the skulls of the mammoth age, they were "of great bodily stature and high cerebral organization?"<sup>2</sup> The importance in these times attached to

<sup>1</sup> See *Monthly Interpreter* for June, art. "The Appearing of Man."

<sup>2</sup> Dawson, *The Origin of the World*, p. 298.

such inquiries may be gauged from the fact that to their settlement the best efforts of not a few of the ablest and most gifted scientists and scholars have been directed; it will be the aim of the present paper to set forth the most reliable results which have been obtained on the two points above indicated—viz. the original birthplace of mankind, and the primeval condition of the race.

1. *The original birthplace of mankind*, according to the Hebrew Scriptures, was the continent of Asia, in a pleasant and delightful region, the geographical features of which are thus carefully defined: "And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden eastward, and there He placed the man whom He had formed. And the Lord God caused to grow out of the ground every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food, and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good; there is bdellium and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates."<sup>1</sup> That this is no mere ideal sketch of some Utopia, such as ancient Oriental mythologies are known to furnish,<sup>2</sup> may be inferred from the seemingly historical character of the narrative, which, professing to depict man's original abode, expressly localizes it by means of the rivers traversing its surface, and the countries lying in its vicinity. "To us," says Canon Rawlinson,<sup>3</sup> "it appears that

<sup>1</sup> Gen. ii. 8-14.

<sup>2</sup> Philo, Origen, Bohlen, Bertheau, *Encycl. Brit.*, art. "Eden" (9th ed.). Herzog's *Real-encyclopädie*, art. "Eden."

<sup>3</sup> *Monthly Interpreter* for April, art. "The Site of Paradise," p. 402.

a geographic character manifestly attaches to the entire description contained in the second chapter of Genesis, and that it would be contrary to all sound canons of historical or literary criticism to treat as mythic or allegorical a passage of a narrative, the general historical character of which is allowed, when there is nothing in the passage itself suggestive of either myth or allegory." That Eden was indeed an actual terrestrial locality, with distinct geographical boundaries, but that now, in consequence of changes on the earth's surface, more especially through the catastrophe of the deluge, its site is undiscoverable, is a notion which, though claiming learned names in its support,<sup>1</sup> must also be discarded, being sufficiently disposed of by the observation that the writer of this description of primeval Paradise "is certainly not speaking of things supposed to be obliterated by the deluge, but of places recognised, however vaguely, in the knowledge of the day."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, proceeding on the assumption that the exact situation of Eden was intended to be given by the author of the Book of Genesis, in terms also which, while involved in much obscurity to present day readers, were perfectly intelligible to those into whose hands the writing was first put, and restricting attention to the Hebrew narrative, the following facts emerge to guide us in our search for the first birth-place of man.

The garden was situated in the east of Palestine. The region in which it lay was one of singular fertility and beauty, the term "Eden" signifying pleasure or delight. It was watered by a river which, outside its limits, was divided into four separate streams, of which two, at least, have been identified. The Hiddekel, the Darter, or, according to a different etymology, "The stream with high banks,"<sup>3</sup> from its situation "in front of Asshur," unquestionably meaning Assyria, as well

<sup>1</sup> Clericus, Reland, Baumgarten, Luther.

<sup>2</sup> Tayler Lewis in Lange's *Genesis*, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* App. I. p. 171.

as from its correspondence in sound with the Idiklat or Diklat of the cuneiform inscriptions, appearing in the Persian as Tigrâ, and passing over into Greek and Latin as Tigris, has been unanimously found in the Tigris of modern geography. The Perath, which was well known to the Hebrews as the River, the Great River, and required no description beyond its name, in Assyrian cuneiform Purat or Purâta, the Great Stream,<sup>1</sup> in Persian cuneiform Ufrâtush, in Arabic Furat or F'rat, in Greek *Εὐφράτης*, has been almost universally<sup>2</sup> recognised as the Euphrates. Hence, whatever be the solution of the site of the Biblical Paradise, it is clear that these acknowledged facts largely discredit such conjectures as locate the cradle of the race either in Palestine or in India, either in Syria or in Egypt, either in Media or in Arabia, since all of these regions are too remote from Assyria, while none of them can be said to be contiguous to the Tigris or Euphrates. In particular, it disposes of the theory which would find man's primeval abode among either the Himalaya or the Hindu-Kush mountains—a theory not without the sanction of eminent authorities, such as Dillmann (earlier), Lenormant, and Renan. The first-named writer,<sup>3</sup> discovering the Pison and the Gihon in the

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* App. I. p. 169; cf. Rawlinson, "Site of Paradise," *Monthly Interpreter*, p. 408.

<sup>2</sup> Both of these identifications are at some length, but, we think, unsuccessfully disputed in a work just issued from the Leipzig press, entitled *Die Lösung der Paradiesfrage*, by Moritz Engel, who finds the Hiddekel in the Wadi el Garz, which flows eastward from the Hauran, and the Perath in the Wadi es Sâ'm in the same locality, the Pison being the Wadi Tes from the north, and the Gihon the Wadi el Gumâr from the east. All the four streams, according to the proposed solution of the Paradise question, proceed from the district of Eden, which is discovered by the author in the Hauran, converge upon the low-lying oasis, Rubbe, which forms the natural middle point of the region, and which constitutes the garden of Scripture, and overflow it with their waters. These, after fertilizing the soil, draw themselves off into a lake towards the north end of the garden; the author's translation of Gen. ii. 10 being: "And water goes out of Eden to water the garden, and therein it separates itself (or draws itself off), and it (i.e. the water) has belonged to four source streams."

<sup>3</sup> Schenkel's *Bibel lexicon*, art. "Eden."

Ganges and the Indus, concludes that the seat of Eden must be looked for amongst the Himâlaya Mountains of Northern India; the second, with whom the third agrees, identifies the Land of Eden with the Mountains of Ararat, and detects both in the "immense plateau of Central Asia, bounded on the south by the Himâlayas, on the west by the Hindu-Kush and the Belur-tagh, on the north by the Altai, and on the east by various groups of mountains which succeed each other from the Altai to the Himâlayas."<sup>1</sup> But besides being too distant from the Mesopotamian valley, the Pamir plateau can scarcely be the Paradise of Genesis, since by no possibility can its rivers be brought into conjunction with the Tigris and Euphrates. Manifestly those theories alone can be regarded as wearing a *prima facie* appearance of credibility, which proceed upon the assumption that Eden must be found in that part of Asia through which these rivers run; and of those theories only two can be said to demand investigation, viz. that which looks for man's primeval abode in Northern Armenia, near the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, and that which directs its search towards Southern Babylonia, where the two rivers converge before they debouch into the Persian Gulf. The former of these theories, which places Eden between the sources of the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, and the Phasis, though it cannot claim any ancient authority of weight in its support, has succeeded in obtaining the suffrages of not a few modern advocates of note, such as Reland, Kurtz, Keil, Bunsen, Brugsch; yet it is open to too many objections to be even probably correct. To begin with, the district of Armenia is cold and inhospitable, whereas the scriptural Paradise is suggestive of sunny skies and genial climes. Then it is situated rather in the north than towards the east of Palestine. Moreover, the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates are not contiguous, but lie considerably apart. Neither has the Phasis nor the Araxes a connection with

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Review*, art. "Ararat and Eden," Sept. 1881.



the former rivers, or indeed any title beyond conjecture to be regarded the one as the Pison and the other as the Gihon. And finally, "the other geographical names, Cush, Havilah, Eden, have no Armenian representatives,—the resemblance of Havilah to Colchis, which some have urged, being at any rate not very apparent."<sup>1</sup> Hence attention must be turned towards the south, where the two streams converge in their progress towards the sea, though not even in this direction does entire unanimity of sentiment prevail. By one class of scholars Eden has been sought in the neighbourhood of the modern Korna, at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, in 31° 0' 28" N. L. Calvin, who first propounded this view, finding the Pison and the Gihon in the two mouths of the Schatt-el-Arab, has been followed by more recent interpreters, either wholly or in part; by Kalisch,<sup>2</sup> Schrader,<sup>3</sup> and Dillmann (later),<sup>4</sup> who select as the Pison and the Gihon the Indus and the Nile; by Pressel,<sup>5</sup> who discovers them in the Karun and the Kertha, the two eastern tributaries of the Schatt-el-Arab; and by Prof. Tayler Lewis,<sup>6</sup> who sees them in the two coast lines of the Persian Gulf. This hypothesis, however, must now be abandoned, concurring evidence going to show that the delta of the Schatt-el-Arab is of recent formation; that originally the Euphrates discharged its waters directly into the Persian Gulf, and that in the time of Alexander the Great the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates were separated by a day's journey. Not only is it certain that the delta of the Schatt-el-Arab is advancing even now at the rate of an English mile in sixty or seventy years, but Sir Henry Rawlinson<sup>7</sup> is of opinion that its growth in ancient

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson, "The Site of Paradise," *Monthly Interpreter*, April 1885.  
Cf. Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums*, art. "Eden."

<sup>2</sup> *Commentary on Genesis*, pp. 92-97.

<sup>3</sup> Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, art. "Eden."

<sup>4</sup> *Kurtzgefasstes Exegetischen Handbuch die Genesis*, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Herzog, v. pp. 332-337, art. "Paradise."

<sup>6</sup> Lange's *Genesis*, p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. xxvii. p. 186.

times must have been more rapid, probably at the rate of one mile in thirty years; while Professor Fried. Delitzsch<sup>1</sup> has shown that, according to the cuneiform inscriptions, "the Persian Gulf extended in the time of Sennacherib nearly as far inland as the modern Kornah, or about 100 English miles from the present extremity of the Schatt-el-Arab farthest from the Persian Gulf." Accordingly, attention has of late been turned with lively interest to the district contiguous to Babylon as in all probability the site of Paradise. Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. George Smith, Professors Sayce and Delitzsch, unite in recognising in Kar-Duniash the park or garden of the god Duniash, in the cuneiform inscriptions Gandunias, an echo of the Biblical Gan-Eden. The Pison and the Gihon they discover in two large canals or water-courses in the vicinity which appear to have been originally natural arms of the Euphrates. The former, the Pison, in the Babylonish tongue meaning "canal," is believed to have been the celebrated Pallacopas, originally a branch of the Euphrates, and now leading from a point somewhat north of Babylon, passing by the Birs-i-Nimroud on the west, flowing on in a course nearly parallel to the Euphrates, and falling into the Persian Gulf by a channel of its own. The latter, the Gihon, has not been identified with the same unanimity. Professor Delitzsch<sup>2</sup> detects the Gihon, which was probably the Accadian Gughana, mentioned along with the Tigris and the Euphrates in the cuneiform inscriptions, in the Shatt-en-Nil, "another arm of the Euphrates which led from Babylon itself, and, after passing by the ancient city of Erech (where now the ruins of Warka exist), ultimately discharged its waters again into the main stream of the Euphrates." In this opinion Professor Sayce<sup>3</sup> appears

<sup>1</sup> *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 40 ff.; cf. the Rev. Chas. H. H. Wright, D.D., in *Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1882, art. "The Site of Paradise."

<sup>2</sup> *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 45 ff.; cf. the Rev. Chas. H. H. Wright, D.D., in *Nineteenth Century*, October 1882, art. "The Site of Paradise."

<sup>3</sup> *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 31.

to concur. Canon Rawlinson,<sup>1</sup> however, proposes to find the Gihon and the Hiddekel in the two streams into which the Tigris divides at Kut-el-Amarah, the former in the eastern arm or Tigris proper, and the latter in the Schatt-el-Hie, which retains the direction of the original river. It is, of course, impossible to arrive at absolute certainty with regard to this point; but enough has been ascertained to show that in all probability the Cradle of the Race was in Southern Babylonia. For the present, however, it will suffice to extend our view to the larger region included in a circle drawn through the three sites that have been remarked upon, in Babylonia, in Armenia, in the mountains of Hindu-Kush. There cannot be a doubt that the Mosaic record traces back the origin of man to some spot or other within that region; and to that region also converges all the collateral evidence furnished by mythology and philology as to the primitive abodes of the race. "The ancient traditions of the European nations as to their own origin and early history conduct the inquirer constantly to the Caucasian regions, to Asia Minor, to Phœnicia, and to Egypt; countries all of them contiguous to, in the vicinity, and even on the coast of that central region. Among the primitive Asiatic nations the Chinese place the cradle of their origin and civilisation in the north-west province of Shensee; and the Indians fix theirs towards the north of the Himâlaya Mountains."<sup>2</sup> The tongues of men, it has been said, when arranged according to the lines of their respective affinities, appear to radiate from a common centre in Western Asia, "where we find a cluster of the most ancient and perfect languages;" while an eminent authority,<sup>3</sup> mapping out the races of mankind according to a similar principle of affiliation, obtains the lines of their convergence, and, as a

<sup>1</sup> *Monthly Interpreter*, April 1885, art. "The Site of Paradise."

<sup>2</sup> Schlegel's *Philosophy of History*, p. 83 (Bohn).

<sup>3</sup> Hæckel, *History of Creation*, chap. xxiii. and Table xv.; cf. *The Evolution of Man*, p. 183.

consequence, the place of their origination, in an imaginary continent, Lemuria, now submerged in the Indian Ocean.<sup>1</sup> "There is also sufficient reason to conclude," writes another, "that all animals and plants have spread from some local centres of creation," and that "the district of Asia, in the vicinity of the Euphrates and Tigris, is the centre to which we can, with the greatest probability, trace several of the species of animals and plants most useful to man."<sup>2</sup> Nor does it militate against this conclusion, that as yet the earliest traces of man discovered by geological research have been confined to Southern and Western Europe, because obviously "until these Asiatic regions have been examined it were premature to hazard any opinion as to man's first appearance on the globe."<sup>3</sup>

2. *The primeval condition of the race* is no less explicitly set forth in the Mosaic record. The last of animated creatures to appear on earth—man, Adam, was also the noblest. Fashioned from the dust of the ground,<sup>4</sup>—whether by immediate or mediate creation is not expressly stated, although the former seems to be implied in the use of the term "bara," בָּרָא,<sup>5</sup>—he was made in "the image and likeness" of Elohim. Whatever the distinction between the two terms, "image," *tselem*, and "likeness," *damuth*, it is impossible to understand them, when conjoined, as importing less than that the *primus homo* possessed a full-orbed manhood, as completely furnished with mental faculties and moral sensibilities as with physical organs, though to the perfect exercise of neither had he then attained. The brief sketch of his Edenic life, supplied by the sacred narrative, unquestionably leaves the impression that the primeval ancestor of humanity was, from the outset of his

<sup>1</sup> This view has found a recent advocate in General Charles Gordon, R.E., who locates the Garden of Eden in the vicinity of the Seychelles Islands, situated to the north of Madagascar. See *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, April 1885; art. "Eden and Golgotha."

<sup>2</sup> Dawson, *Origin of the World*, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Page, *The Philosophy of Geology*, p. 115.    <sup>4</sup> Gen. ii. 7.    <sup>5</sup> Gen. i. 26.

career, a being capable of speech, of large discourse of reason, of social affections, of moral intuitions. Located in a garden of unparalleled beauty and fertility, containing "every tree that was pleasant to the sight and good for food, the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil," he was charged by Jehovah Elohim "to dress it and to keep it," which implied that he could both understand the language of command and direct his activity by means of intelligence. The prohibition under which he was placed with regard to the tree of knowledge, taken in connection with the penalty by which he was threatened in case of disobedience, shows him to have been a subject of moral government. His naming of the animals when these were presented to him, and much more his instantaneous recognition of the helpmeet provided for him,—  
"This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man,"—demonstrates that his intellectual powers existed in a state of readiness to be called forth into exercise by appropriate excitements; while both incidents reveal that he was capable of uttering his thoughts in articulate speech. The above ejaculation when he first beheld Eve—Chavah, the mother of all living—admits of no doubt that he knew himself to be endowed with social affections; and this conclusion will be strengthened if we may suppose that the words, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh,"—were his rather than the writer's. The story of the temptation and the fall necessitates the assumption not only that he was innocent, but that his religious nature was in active operation. The entire narrative depicts a condition of existence in which man's sentient, intellectual, social, moral, and religious instincts had each its approximate and adequate environment: his body the fair and fertile Paradise which formed his home; his mind and heart, the scenery of Eden, the company of the lower

creatures, the affection of Eve; his moral and religious capacities, the favour and fellowship of God. Nothing can be clearer than that, according to the writer of the Book of Genesis, man did not step upon the scene of earth as "the twenty-second and final stage" in a long ancestral pedigree, of which the one-celled, soft, structureless Monera, or "organism without organs," was the first, and the speechless Apeman or Alalus the last progenitor;<sup>1</sup> but bearing in his upright form and on his noble brow, as well as evincing in his lofty intelligence, his godlike speech, his moral purity, and religious aspirations,—the tokens of a heavenly origin as well as of a perfect manhood. Nor did the writer think of man as beginning his terrestrial career at the lowest point of savageism, and slowly advancing by stages imperceptible, if not well-nigh infinitesimal, to the pinnacle of mental and moral greatness on which he now stands; but, exactly contrary to this, in the subsequent development of man's history, the Hebrew author represents him as having lapsed from the high estate of innocence and felicity in which he first appeared, and as having, through the entrance of sin, degenerated and declined into a state of barbarism, intellectual and moral no less than physical, out of which it is the aim of His Creator to eventually raise him. Whatever opinion may be formed of the credibility of such views as to man's primeval condition, it does not appear possible to deny that such are the views propounded in the sacred books of both the Hebrew and the Christian Church.

That these views, however, are incorrect, and must now be replaced by others, framed on a different hypothesis as to man's origin, is with no small degree of confidence asserted by extreme evolutionists of the school of Darwin and Lyell, Huxley and Hæckel, Lubbock and Fiske. According to this theory, which has been appropriately styled the Bestial or Savage Theory of Man's Origin, the primitive condition of

<sup>1</sup> Hæckel, *The Evolution of Man*, p. 189.

mankind was one of "utter barbarism,"<sup>1</sup> "out of which several races have independently raised themselves;" or, to apply somewhat milder language, "of a lowly and primitive nature, with everything to acquire, and no accumulated experience to assist."<sup>2</sup> "The Pyramids of Egypt seem like things of yesterday, when we think of the cave-men of Western Europe in the Glacial Period, who scratched pictures of mammoths on pieces of reindeer antler with a bit of pointed flint. Yet during an entire geologic æon before these cave-men appeared on the scene, "a being erect upon two legs," if we may quote from Serjeant Buzfuz, "and wearing the outward semblance of a man, and not of a monster," wandered hither and thither over the face of the earth, setting his mark upon it as no other creature yet had done, leaving behind him innumerable tell-tale remnants of his fierce and squalid existence, yet too scantily endowed with wit to make any written disclosure of his thoughts and deeds."<sup>3</sup> Those predecessors of the cave-men, according to the author of *Cosmic Philosophy*, were evolved from the Catarhine apes, and were the actual progenitors of the human family. The grounds upon which these assertions are made are not, as one might have anticipated, either so numerous or so self-evident as to constrain immediate acceptance, although the last-named writer somewhat extravagantly exclaims: "There is no more reason for supposing that this conclusion will ever be gainsaid, than for supposing that the Copernican astronomy will sometime be overthrown, and the concentric spheres of Dante's heaven reinstated in the minds of men;"<sup>4</sup> on the contrary, the amount of solid argument advanced in support of this conclusion is disappointingly small, and consists mainly of a number of propositions that cannot be said to have been themselves made

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Lubbock, British Association Paper (Dundee); cf. *Prehistoric Times*.

<sup>2</sup> Page, *Man: Where? Whence? and Whither?* p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> John Fiske, *Man's Destiny*, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Man's Destiny*, p. 20.

good. These propositions are:—1. That the early traces of man upon the earth, as attested by the implements he has used, can be arranged in three great divisions corresponding to what the Danish archæologists have styled the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron Ages; 2. That the existence of savage races, squalid in physical appearance, feeble in intellectual capacities, absolutely ignorant of civilisation, and totally devoid of religion, proves barbarism to have been the primitive condition of mankind; 3. That the inevitable absorption or extermination of lower races of mankind by higher warrants the conclusion that the latter have been preceded by the former, *e.g.* "that the Caucasian or White Man has been preceded by the Mongol, Red Indian, and Malay, and that these in turn were preceded by the Ethiopian or Negro;"<sup>1</sup> and 4. That man's demonstrated (?) affinity to and evolution from the lower creatures shows him to have started his career on earth in the manner maintained by modern science. But first, with reference to the so-called Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages, it is certain that, while "on the whole this has been the general order of succession in Europe, where men used stone and bone before they had discovered the use of metal, and learned how to obtain bronze before they knew anything of the metallurgy of iron,"<sup>2</sup> it is impossible to build upon that succession anything like a strict chronological table as to man's appearance upon the earth. Besides being a matter of extreme difficulty to decide with precision as to the antiquity of an implement merely from its rudeness, it is now recognised by geologists and archæologists alike that the three ages have in some instances existed side by side in the past as we see them do in the present; that the discovery of stone or bronze implements in one part of the world can be no index whatever of the state of civilisation in another; and that the use of rude stone implements by

<sup>1</sup> Page, *Man: Where? Whence? Whither?* p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Geikie, *Text Book of Geology*, p. 902.



a people is not necessarily a sign of their barbarous condition. In short, as the Duke of Argyll justly observes, "there is no proof whatever that such ages ever existed in the world."<sup>1</sup> As to the second proposition, that man's original condition was one of barbarism, because to-day the Hottentots besmear their bodies with grease, never wash their clothes, and load their hair with soot and fat; because the Andaman Islanders, whom Professor Owen considers "the most primitive or lowest in the scale of civilisation of the human race," live chiefly on fruit, mangroves, and shell-fish, cover themselves with mud, and wear no clothes; and because the Australian aborigines have no religion nor any idea of prayer, but believe in evil spirits and have a great dread of witchcraft,—one wonders how an intelligent person like Sir John Lubbock could mistake this for logic. Granting that contemporary savage life is as deplorable as he paints it, the question remains whether it has not resulted from antecedent civilisation. Sir John thinks that "if the Cape of Good Hope, Australia, New Zealand, etc., had ever been inhabited by a race of men more advanced than those whom we are in the habit of regarding as the aborigines, some evidence of this kind would have remained," and that "none of our travellers having observed any ruins, or other traces of a more advanced civilisation, there does not appear to be any sufficient reason for supposing these miserable beings to be at all inferior to the ancestors from whom they are descended."<sup>2</sup> But Sir John himself affirms that in a cave on the north-eastern coast of Australia were observed certain "tolerable figures of sharks, porpoises, turtles, lizards, trepans, star-fish, clubs, canoes, water-gourds, and some quadrupeds, probably intended to represent kangaroos and dogs," which were not the work of the natives, and were by them ascribed to diabolic agency; while, as to the Tasmanians,<sup>3</sup> who had no canoes

<sup>1</sup> *Primeval Man*, chap. iii.

<sup>2</sup> *Prehistoric Times*, pp. 337, 338.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 347, 348.

when visited by Captain Cook, and whom a modern writer scarcely regards as rational beings, it has been properly observed that their ancestors could not have reached the island without canoes. Then the fact that modern savageism is generally found in unpropitious settlements—at the earth's extremities, as it were—rather points, as the Duke of Argyll has shown,<sup>1</sup> to deterioration and degeneration through the driving forth of the weaker tribes of mankind to the less hospitable and more sterile regions of the globe, than to indigenous growth and aboriginal production; so that the absence of all traces of an earlier civilisation in any definite locality does not necessarily prove that its inhabitants were not descended from ancestors superior to themselves. The third argument, that because certain uncivilised races are, in different quarters of the globe, seen to retire before or become absorbed in certain higher races with which they come in contact, therefore the latter must have been evolved from the former, does not strike one as a specimen of convincing ratiocination; while the fourth, that man, being descended from the apes, must have started life at a point scarcely removed from a bestial condition, proceeds on an unproved hypothesis, as Hæckel himself practically admits, in conceding that the ape-like man or intermediate link between the gorilla and the *genus homo* is wanting, is in fact lying with the lost continent Lemuria at the bottom of the Indian Ocean.

Nor is it merely that the reasoning usually urged in support of the savage theory of man's origin is inconsequential as well as insufficient, but considerations of the highest moment speak in corroboration of the view propounded in the Hebrew Scriptures. (1) It is certain that many races now existing as savages have lapsed into that condition through a process of degeneration. Of the Veddas of Ceylon, who now, according to Sir John Lubbock, "do not seem to have any religion," according to Mr. Bailey are "more barbarous

<sup>1</sup> *Primeval Man*, chap. iii.

specimens of the human race" than one can well conceive, and, according to Sir Emerson Tennent, "make themselves understood by signs, grimaces, and guttural sounds which have little resemblance to definite words or language in general," Max Müller writes<sup>1</sup> that "if they now stand low in the scale of humanity, they once stood higher; nay, they may possibly prove in language, if not in blood, the distant cousins of Plato and Newton and Goethe;" the ground of this assertion being that "more than half the words used by them are mere corruptions of Sanscrit." (2) There is evidence, already ample and constantly increasing, that the farther back we travel in the line of history we arrive at traces of civilisations, now vanished, that show the early men by whom this globe was tenanted and subdued to have been of vigorous capacity, both of mind and body. Beginning with the New World, it is enough to mention the marvellous works of the mound builders<sup>2</sup> that have been exhumed in the Mississippi valley,—magnificent remains of a civilisation so ancient, that by the modern American Indians it was never known to have existed. The excavations of Dr. Schliemann on the site of ancient Ilium afford another illustration. Priam's capital was destroyed by the heroes of Agamemnon in or about B.C. 1300; and now that the spade of the German archæologist has laid open the buried secrets of Hissarlik, it is found that no fewer than five different civilisations lie above one another, the undermost of which was probably coeval with that of the earliest monarchies of Assyria and Egypt. What kind of culture prevailed on the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile between 3000 and 2000 years before Christ, one may learn from the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylonia and the hieroglyphic monuments of Egypt, which are every day shedding fresh light upon the manners and customs of these early times. (3) If we push our inquiries farther back, and inquire into the condition of the

<sup>1</sup> *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. iv. p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> See Wilson's *Prehistoric Man*, chaps. x. xvi.

so-called Palæolithic men, we shall find in the great variety of their implements, as well as in the degree of excellence to which they appear to have attained in the carving of bone and ivory, no small indication that the primitive occupants of the globe were not the ignorant and incapable savages they are sometimes represented to have been; and this conclusion will derive confirmation by reflecting that, if they were savages who owed their subsequent elevation entirely to their own unaided efforts, the greatest and most beneficent inventions by which the race of man has profited must have proceeded from men who were least capable of the same. "It may possibly be true," writes the Duke of Argyll, "as Whately argues, that man never could have discovered the use of fire and the use of corn without Divine instruction. If so, it is fatal to the savage theory. But it is equally fatal to that theory if we assume the opposite position, and suppose that the noblest discoveries ever made by man were made by him in primeval times."<sup>1</sup> (4) If we finally compare the cerebral development of these so-called Palæolithic or primitive men, we shall find that they afford no evidence whatever of graduating into inferior races. "The expectation of always meeting with a lower type of human skull," says Sir Charles Lyell,<sup>2</sup> "the older the formation in which it occurs, is based on the theory of progressive development, and it may prove to be sound; nevertheless we must remember that as yet we have no distinct geological evidence that the appearance of what are called the inferior races of mankind has always preceded in chronological order that of the higher races." Hence, on the ground of strictly scientific evidence, there is not only no sufficient warrant for rejecting as incorrect, but, on the contrary, much encouragement for accepting as true, the scriptural declaration that man began his terrestrial career, not as the descendant of a tailless simian, but as a son of the living God.

THOMAS WHITELAW.

<sup>1</sup> *Primeval Man*, chap. iii.

<sup>2</sup> *The Antiquity of Man*, p. 90.

## THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

### THE ADDRESS OF THE LETTER AND THE APOSTOLIC GREETING (VERSE 7).

THE Apostle, having brought his extended christological detour to a felicitous conclusion, "resumes," as Chalmers expresses it, "the *rectilineal track*, by which the writer, who announced himself in the first verse, sends in the seventh his Christian salutations to the correspondents whom he is addressing" (*Lectures on Romans, in loco*): *To all the beloved of God who are in Rome.* Macknight grotesquely supposed that the Epistle was "addressed to the whole inhabitants of Rome, to the heathen as well as to the Jews and Christians." Of course he divided the clause into two parts, separating them by a comma, and translating thus: *To all who are in Rome, to the beloved of God.* But the expression *the beloved of God* has obviously reference, not to the divine pity or compassion, such as might rest, and did rest, on the whole inhabitants of the city, but to "the love of complacency"—the love which, both in men and in God, is associated with delight. Our Saviour speaks of it when He says, "If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our abode with him" (John xiv. 23). It is noteworthy that the Apostle does not use the word *Church*, when addressing the Christians in Rome. Perhaps their ecclesiastical organization was not wrought out into technical completeness. But if it were, perhaps the Apostle, while in one of his loftier moods, simply preferred to give special and undivided emphasis to the ethical delineation of the state and character of the members.—*called, holy.* So we would inter-

punctuate these two attributive adjectives, regarding them as co-ordinates. The echo of the concluding words of the digression, *Jesus Christ's called*, still hangs upon the writer's ear; and hence it was natural, in regularly formulating the address of the Epistle, to reverberate the absolute use of the word *called*. The Roman brethren were *beloved of God, and called, and holy*. The Peshito-Syriac version interpunctuates the last two attributives, and, to keep the co-ordination clear, introduces the conjunction *and*, "*called and holy*." Doddridge and Wesley accept the same interpretation and conjunction. Cocceius, Michaelis, Bishop Terrot, and others preserve the distinct co-ordination without importing the conjunction, "*called, holy*." The expression cannot mean "*called to be holy*." If the co-ordination be merged, and the two words be interlocked, then the meaning must be *holy in virtue of being called*, or, as Tyndale gives it, *saynctes by callinge*. The idea would then be parallel to the idea embodied in the expression *a called apostle*, i.e. *an apostle in virtue of having been divinely called to the apostolate*. Beza, in the last of his editions (that of 1598), went over to Tyndale's interpretation. It is, however, to be noted that there lies a peculiar fitness in representing apostleship as conferred by a distinct vocation. Apostleship was an office and an honour, which it would ill become any one to assume ultroneously. Holiness, on the other hand, is peculiarly a duty. The adjectives should be disjoined in 1 Cor. i. 2 also, the only other passage in which they stand side by side. The Roman brethren were regarded by the Apostle as *holy*, not in the purely theocratic and ecclesiastic sense contended for by Meyer, after Taylor of Norwich and Michaelis, but in the high ethical acceptation of the term. It is the highest aim of Christianity to assimilate human character to the divine ideal. And thus it is the glory of faith in Christ that it "*purifies the heart*" and ennobles the life.—*Grace to you and peace*. There is in the twofold features of the Apostle's salutation, a combination

of both occidental and oriental greeting. The Greeks, when writing to one another, said *χαίρειν*, and thus expressed their desire for the "joy" of their correspondents. It is a beautiful greeting. But the Apostle, charged as his high office was with high and holy aims, lifted the Greek good wishes into a loftier and peculiarly Christian level, and said *χάρις*. The word was struck out of *χαίρειν*, and represents that peculiar kindness in God and in Christ which has provided "joy" even for the guilty. The old Semitic greeting is *peace*,—a most significant salutation in early times, and most needful and assuring, when men were hunters and patriarchal graziers of domesticated cattle. The Apostle puts a spiritual meaning into the assuring exclamation: *May you have peace in your heart, peace in your conscience, peace all through and through in life, peace rolling like a river till time merge in eternity!*—*from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ*. A double Fount. "He showed me," says St. John, "a pure river of the water of life, clear as crystal, *proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb*" (Rev. xxii. 1). The Apostle's expression assumes a metaphysical equation as regards essence, on the part of *the Lord Jesus Christ* and *God our Father*. The phrase *our Father*, as used by the Apostle and Christians in general, seems to be an echo from the commencement of the Lord's Prayer.

GRATULATORY PREAMBLE OF THE LETTER (VERSES 8—15).

The Apostle, with his fine urbanity of spirit, and that fulness of heart and speech that was at all times natural to him, was in the habit of prefixing to the main body of the contents of his letters, not only his name, designation, and salutation, but likewise something of the nature of a *gratulatory preamble*. Its tendency was to conciliate respect and goodwill. And, in the Apostle's case, the natural result would not be frustrated by empty artificiality on the one

hand, or by clumsy overdoing on the other. There was, as Wolfgang Musculus remarks, "nothing vulgar" in the Apostle's compliments and congratulations.

Ver. 8. *First of all.* The original expression (*πρῶτον μὲν*) suggests that the reader may look out for some second remark, numerically noted, at the conclusion of the distinct statement that is ushered in by the numerical expression *First of all*. The second remark is made, but there is no such numerical notation as *then in the second place* (*ἔπειτα δέ*). The Apostle was not fastidious in rhetoric, and sought not to balance nicely clause with clause. It thus oftentimes happened in his composition that, as his thoughts flowed impetuously forth, out of the fulness of his mind, the language got broken on itself.—*I thank my God.* This expression is a kind of crevice, through which we obtain a vivid glimpse of the Apostle's deep religious feeling. God was to him his own God, his "peculiar" Portion. At other times he rejoiced in the broad relationship of God to men in general, or to believers in particular. But still he was all along careful not to lose his own personality in the crowd that surrounded him, and hence his "*my God.*" The expression, says Paciuchelli, is "most sweet."—*through Jesus Christ.* These words are not, as Glöckler supposed, to be construed with the immediately preceding expression *my God*. They hang upon the entire affirmation *I thank my God*, and thus bring into view the medium through which his *thanks to God* ascended. When the Apostle approached his God, either with prayers or with praises, Jesus Christ was "the Way" by which he went.—*concerning you all*, or in reference to you all (*πρὸς*, not *ὑπὲρ*). The indiscriminative expression *all* was a proof that the Apostle was in no mood to be a partisan in relation to any of the subjects on which there might be diversity of opinion among the Roman Christians. See chap. xiv. He felt no inclination to be a respecter of persons among brethren.—*that or because*



(i.e. *because that*). The one translation is demonstrative, the other is argumentative. They coalesce in fact; so that either of them may be adopted. Tyndale and Rilliet give the latter (*because*). But the former is, on the whole, more natural, and in full accord with the primary import of the conjunction.—*your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world*. It is reported everywhere as a piece of good news. The expression *throughout the whole world* is an idiomatic hyperbolism, graphically representing the wide extent of the area over which the intelligence had spread. Compare the French *tout le monde*. It is certainly a “free and easy” mode of speech, but it is readily understood. The *world*, to men in general, is just what that particular sphere of it is, which comes under their special cognisance or consideration. The *world*, to the Apostle, at least while in the mood of thought, when he was dictating the words before us, was that particular, but particularly expansive sphere, in which he found Christians, either grouped together ecclesiastically, or scattered abroad in their single individuality. The faith of the Roman brethren was one of the topics universally talked of, and talked of with satisfaction, in Christian circles. The Apostle thanked his God for the wide-spread report. There were two distinct facts intertwined in the object which evoked the Apostle’s thankfulness. There was, firstly, the fact of faith on the part of the Roman brethren; and then, secondly, the fact of the wide diffusion of the intelligence. The Apostle did not untwine the intertwined facts; and hence he just says, *I thank my God that your faith is spoken of far and wide*. If he had disintegrated the facts, we should doubtless have found that it was primarily and principally on account of the fact of their faith that he rejoiced and was grateful, while at the same time he had likewise a lively though secondary joy in his heart over the wide dissemination of the tidings.

Rückert and Oltramare rub out all the peculiar lines that distinguish the individual essence of *faith*, when they

contend, the former that the word here means *Christianity*, and the latter that it means *piety*. It evidently just means itself; though of course *faith* is only one of a closely concatenated circle of graces.

The Apostle's generosity of soul is noteworthy. It is no uncommon thing for men to be grateful for favours terminating in themselves. But it is a mark of noble gratefulness to be grateful for blessings terminating in others. Such gratitude is allied to that grandeur of character which is found in the true patriot, or, higher still, in the true philanthropist.

Ver. 9. The statement of the preceding verse proceeded on the assumption that the Apostle was profoundly interested in his Roman brethren. The assumption was correct; and hence the contents of verses 9-12.—*For God is my witness.* His appeal to God has in it all the essential elements of an oath. He wished to make a solemn asseveration, the solemnity of it mounting in his consciousness toward God. The wish was most natural. The Apostle continually walked and talked with God; and hence it was his joy to be frequently appealing to Him as the witness of his inward thoughts and feelings. In that August Presence no one could make profession of unrealities.—*whom in my spirit I serve.* The inner man, as distinguished from the outer, is a sphere in which there are no attempts at imposition by means of unrealities. If the Apostle's service had been merely in the outer man, in bodily presence, in prostrations, and audible prayers, in alms, and other externalities, then the appeal to God as a witness might have meant nothing more than hypocrisy. But the Apostle's service was *in his spirit*, where all secrets stand unveiled to the eye of the only Witness present, and where consequently there is no room for hypocrisy.—*in the gospel of His Son.* The sphere, in which was the act of the Apostle's service, was *his spirit*; the sphere in which was the material or subject-matter of his service was *the gospel of God's*

*Son.* It was his duty to serve God in the way of preaching the gospel, unfolding it, applying it, enforcing it, defending it. The genitive of *his Son* brings into view, not the author, but the subject-matter of the gospel. The good news concerned God's Son.—*how that I bear you unceasingly in remembrance.* The word *μνεία*, which we render *remembrance*, has no other meaning in the Septuagint. It never means *mention*. In the New Testament it should also be always translated *remembrance*, although in some of the passages where it occurs it could bear to be rendered *mention* (viz. to a third party). The Septuagint passages are Deut. vii. 18; Job xiv. 13; Ps. cx. 4; Isa. xxiii. 16, xxvi. 8; Jer. xxxi. 20; Lam. iii. 20; Ezek. xxi. 32, xxv. 10; Zech. xiii. 2. As for the New Testament usage, see 1 Thess. iii. 6, and 2 Tim. i. 3. The other instances are identical with the one before us: Eph. i. 16; 1 Thess. i. 2; Philem. 4. The Peshito version has *remembrance*. So has the Vulgate, in its peculiar Latin, *memoriam vestri facio*, which is rendered in the Rheims, *I make a memorie of you*. Wickliffe was much more felicitous, *I make mynde of you*. The conjunction *how* (ὥς) is not here purely modal as if some particular mode of *unceasingness* were indicated. *Unceasingness* is itself a unit of *mode*, and has no *modes*. In the Apostle's use of the particle there is an unobtrusive transition from the modal to a demonstrative import, *how that*.

Ver. 10. With the preceding expression, *how that I bear you unceasingly in remembrance*, Robert Stephens, the versemaker, concluded, in his 1551 edition, the 9th verse, placing a colon at the close. He did right in inserting some kind of stop, although his light on the subject had somewhat tardily and yet somewhat suddenly flashed in upon his mind. In his preceding editions, inclusive of his folio in 1550, he allowed the clause to run on uninterruptedly till it reached the end of the expression *always in my prayers*, where he placed a comma. Erasmus had preceded him in this continuity, although in his Latin translation he wisely inserted a comma

where Stephens, in his 1551 edition, inserted a colon. Beza in all his editions retained Stephens' colon. The Elzevirs in 1624 (the "Received Text") followed in Beza's wake. Mill retained the colon, and Wetstein and Matthæi. Bengel, however, wisely exchanged it for a comma. *There should undoubtedly be a comma, and but a comma.* Griesbach gives it, and Schöttgen, Tittmann, Schott, Knapp, Vater, Burton, Hahn, Göschen, Scholz, etc. It was given also by Tischendorf in his 1849 edition, but it has been withdrawn by him in his 1859 edition, and his last (the 8th), no stop of any kind being inserted, till the end of the expression *always in my prayers*. Westcott and Hort follow in his wake. Lachmann has no stop till the end of the expression *always in my prayers making request*. Tregelles follows Lachmann, and so does Alford; but surely unadvisedly. The conjunction of the two adverbs *unceasingly* and *always* is, as Beelen remarks, a tautology; and such a tautology should not, without some urgent occasion, be postulated. In King James's English version, not only is there no stop where Robert Stephens placed a colon, the expression *in my prayers* is wrenched from the following participle *making request*, added redundantly to the *unceasingly* clause, and then transferred to the close of the preceding verse. Unhappily.—*always at the time of my prayers making request*, for it is evident that the Apostle observed stated times of prayer, and that, at these stated occasions, he spread out systematically his thoughts and yearnings over the whole field of his apostolate, and penetrated beyond into many an outlying territory, touching on many a detached group, and encircling with his interest and sympathy many an isolated individual. In referring to the stated times which he consecrated to prayer, he says idiomatically *on my prayers*. He thinks of his prayers as having a certain *basis in time*; and *on* that basis he laid and piled his particular petitions, in one of which he made request that he might get to see his Roman brethren.—*if somehow now, sooner or later, I shall have*

*my way broken up in pursuance of the will of God, to come to you.* Note the individual expressions. *If somehow*: there were difficulties in his way, and he did not see how they were to be surmounted. He left therefore the solution with God. *Now*, that is, *now at length*, now after so protracted a time of longing. *Sooner or later*: he desired to get soon; but he was not importunate, within that range, for any one particular period. *I shall have my way broken up*, or *I shall be prospered* or *blessed*. In King James's English version the expression is rendered, *I might have a prosperous journey*. This, however, though akin to the radical idea of the term, and though it is the translation given by Beza, is not the conventional import of the word. Its conventional import is, *I shall be prospered*. See Prov. xxviii. 13, "He that covereth his sins *shall not prosper*." Compare Isa. liv. 17; Jer. xxxii. 5; 1 Chron. xix. 13; 2 Chron. xiii. 12, xviii. 11, xxiv. 20, xxxi. 21, xxxii. 30, etc. In the New Testament the word occurs in only two other passages besides the one before us, and in neither of them does it signify *to have a prosperous journey*. The one is 1 Cor. xvi. 2, "Let every one of you lay by him in store as *he may prosper*;" and the other is in 3 John 2, "Beloved, I wish that in all things *thou mayest prosper*, and be in health, even as thy soul *prospereth*." It was not, then, the Apostle's request that he should have *a prosperous journey*. He prayed that he might be so far *prospered* as to be permitted to visit the Romans. It would in his estimation be sufficient prosperity if in any way he should get to Rome. His prayer was thus to the effect that he might have the good fortune and the happiness of having his way so broken up before him as to admit of his visiting them. The Peshito version is excellent, *that a way may be opened to me that I may come to you*.

Ver. 11. *For I long to visit you*. This *longing* accounted for his importunate prayers. Hence the reason-rendering *for*. It is not the *ἐν* that condenses the meaning of the verb

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ἐπιποθεῖν into the idea of *longing*. That meaning is inherent in the uncompounded verb; and the preposition in composition denotes the *direction* that was taken by the intense desire. The surging of the Apostle's feelings was *in the direction of his paying a personal visit to his Roman brethren*. Note the word *visit*, and its connection with what is *visible*. In visiting, the *visited* becomes *visible* to the *visitor* (ἐπιποθεῖν ἰδεῖν).—*in order that I might communicate to you some spiritual gift*. There was nothing of selfishness, not even of selfism, in the Apostle's desire to visit his Roman brethren. His aim was not *to get*, but *to give*. But the contemplated gift would be the product of divine grace. It would be no mere contrivance of the Apostle, but a divine χάρισμα. The grace of God would be in it: not the grace of the Apostle. Grace would be its essence; but the essence would take form from the plastic energy of the Divine Spirit. The contemplated gift would be not merely spiritual but Spiritual. It would take effect indeed upon the human spirit; but its efficacy would be conditioned on the agency of the Divine Spirit.—*to the end that ye may be strengthened*, viz. in your faith. Not having enjoyed direct apostolic instruction in reference to Christianity, their faith might be, and most likely would be, comparatively undeveloped, and dashed here and there with partialities and disharmonies. These imperfections would be elements of weakness. In the moment of intense strain in the direction either of temptation or of an imperious demand for intellectual verification, faith, if thus inherently weak, would be apt to falter.

Ver. 12. *But this is that I, in the midst of you, may be comforted together with you, each through the other's faith, both yours and mine*. The Apostle, with delicate and all but inimitable felicity, modifies the representation of the preceding verse. When making that representation he had indeed only expressed the true longing of his spirit. He thought only of advantage to his Roman brethren. Self was hidden from his

sight. But no sooner had the winged expression alighted on the page that was spread out before the amanuensis, than another winged idea fluttered in the Apostle's mind and flew out, viz., that much as he desired the benefit of his Roman brethren, it would be possible for them to impart to him in return some spiritual advantage. There is a touch therefore of correction or remodelling in the expression *but this is*. The Apostle pictures on the canvas of his imagination an interesting scene. He thinks of himself as in some place of meeting in Rome, surrounded by his Roman brethren. He speaks. They speak. The masses of the unsympathetic are outside. All within, from the Apostle downward to the humblest disciple, have had to experience, bitterly, the hostility and contempt of the anti-christian world. All had been obliged to endure tribulation, in consequence of their devotion to Christ, and their desire to live Christly lives. Hence the joy, which they would experience in one another's presence and in each other's faith, would be not simply *joy*, but *comfort*. Take note of the Septuagintal use of *παρκαλέω*. Likewise take note that in the English word *comfort* there is something that bears the import of *strengthening*. The *fort* in *comfort* is the *fort* in *fortitude* and *fortress*.

J. MORISON.

III. *The Historic Date of the Epistle.* An elaborate examination of the reasons of Baur and others for placing the epistle at a late date is given, especially those founded on the self-defence of the apostle, ii. 3-13. It is thought most probable that the slanders proceeded from the heathen; hence they are devoid of theological stamp. Compared with 1 Cor. i. 23, ii. 14, we have here an interesting evidence of the manner in which the heathen were affected by the first contact with Christianity. "If the epistle can only be explained without difficulty by the assumption of its Pauline origin, it deserves more richly than heretofore to be used in the study of Paulinism. Life in faith and love and hope, blessed confidence in redemption and future glorification, appears as the substance of Pauline Christianity; and in the foreground of his thought and teaching, the central point of the common faith, stands the hope of the Parousia. Christ glorified he saw at his conversion; not the historical Christ, nor the crucified, but the glorified Christ is here the central point of his faith; not on the Past, nor on the Present, but on the Future his gaze rests, and the Future assures him of the return of the Lord beheld in heaven."

THE same review contains a study on "The Meeting of Abraham with Melchizedek," by G. Röscher. The writer refers to the doubts cast on the historical character of the narrative by the criticism begun by De Wette, and carried to its last consequences by Wellhausen. By the negative critics the symbolical character of the rebels' names is pointed out, with a variety of other particulars tending to show the mythic or apocryphal quality of the story. Röscher uses recent Assyriological discoveries to rebut these arguments of Hitzig and Noldeke, and concludes that there is no sufficient reason for disputing the "historic soundness" of the "husk" in Gen. xiv., with which the "kernel," the meeting of Abraham with Melchizedek, is organically connected. A very patient and learned disquisition follows, full of references to the modern literature of the subject, an outline of which even cannot be reproduced here. He seeks to remove the historical difficulty of the use of the Divine name Jahve by the patriarch. When the narrator, in the spirit of *monolatry*, makes the patriarch recognise the god of Melchizedek as real, he quite correctly, in the light of history, makes the patriarch pay a tribute for the first time, which his people long after him paid to the heathen gods. But the tithe to the priest, king of Salem, is regarded as unhistorical, proceeding from the time of the writer, or of the last editor of the narrative. Πάντα δὲ δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε, concludes the writer.



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THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

1 COR. xv. 1-11.

IN entering upon the effort to explain and illustrate the course of St. Paul's argument in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, it may be well, in the meantime, to postpone any inquiry into the peculiar views of those with whom the Apostle has to contend. We shall be able to form more correct ideas upon this point either in the course of our exposition of the chapter, or when we have brought it to a close. It is enough to observe now, that the whole character of the Apostle's reasoning shows how deeply moved he himself was by the thought of the momentous subject with which he is to deal. His very first word is one of power. *Antea fuerat doctrina*, says Bengal, *nunc fit elenchus*. It is the word which he had used in chap. xii. 3, when the awful thought of calling Jesus *Anathema* was present to his mind. More than that, it is the word used by our Lord Himself when, in the last sentence of His high-priestly prayer, He thought of the Divine authority with which, as the revelation of the Father, He had impressed the knowledge of the Father upon the hearts of the disciples, so that in them the end of His coming had been answered, "that the love wherewith Thou lovedst Me may be in them, and I in them" (John xvii. 26). "I make known" is more than I announce, or declare, or preach, or call to mind. It carries with it the whole weight of St. Paul's apostolical authority, as well as the remembrance of that submission which the Corinthian Christians had formerly yielded to his words. As, too, with the first word of the chapter, so also with the tone of the chapter throughout. There is an animation, a fervour, a swing in it almost un-

exampld even in the writings of one whose letters were "weighty and strong." Seldom does even he rise to such impassioned thought, such ardent feeling, or such lofty eloquence. He is evidently contending for what he knows to be one of the most central truths of that Gospel which he had received by direct communication from heaven. With it were connected all perseverance and enthusiasm in the work of the Lord (ver. 58). Without it the whole substance of his message disappeared (ver. 14), and its fruits perished (ver. 17).

The subject of the chapter is the Resurrection of the Dead. In the days when that great truth was first proclaimed, men questioned and denied it as they questioned and denied hardly any other doctrine which Jesus or His apostles preached. No belief of the early Church roused to such an extent the indignation of the Sadducees, the most powerful party in Jerusalem at the time (Acts iv. 2). It was received with mockery at Athens and throughout the Gentile world (Acts xvii. 32). One of the earliest heresies that sprang up in the bosom of the Christian Church itself, was that of Hymenæus and Philetus, who maintained that the resurrection was past already, and overthrew the faith of some (2 Tim. ii. 18). At Corinth, as we learn from this chapter, there were those in the midst of the Christian community who denied the doctrine, and asked either in perplexity or scorn, "How are the dead raised, and with what manner of body do they come?" (ver. 35).

But if there was difficulty in believing in the resurrection of the dead then, the difficulty is one which has only increased with time. The lapse of centuries has placed many another doctrine of our faith in a clearer and brighter light, and has made it easier of acceptance than it was at the beginning. It is not so here. As ever enlarging multitudes return to the dust, and the particles of their bodies enter in other forms into the frames of generations that follow them, the mind becomes bewildered in its effort to imagine what the resurrec-

tion of the dead can mean. How often do we torture ourselves with the thought of it! How often would we fain pause and dismiss the whole subject as one of those impenetrable mysteries which it is useless at present to endeavour to comprehend. But there is no pausing on the part of the Apostle in the chapter before us. On the contrary, the whole tenour of the chapter shows that he is animated in a higher than ordinary degree by the confidence, the assurance, the joy, of faith. He feels that he is entering into the very heart of the Christian system. He seems almost to experience a sensation of relief as he turns from many of the points with which, in the earlier part of his Epistle, he had been engaged. The factions, the lawsuits, the disputes about meats, articles of dress, and gifts had wearied him. Now he is in his element, and he rushes like a war-horse to the battle.

In the first paragraph of the chapter, extending from ver. 1 to ver. 11, the foundation of the Apostle's argument is laid, and it may be summed up in the single sentence, "The Christ who died is risen." The Corinthian Christians indeed did not doubt that fact. Even those among them who hesitated to admit that there was any prospect of a resurrection for themselves, did not deny that, on the third morning after His crucifixion, their Lord had come forth in triumph from the grave. The proclamation of that great truth had, most of all, made them Christians. It had confirmed in the most wonderful and striking way the highest claims put forth by One who to the outward eye had no form, nor comeliness, and no beauty that men should desire Him. It had authenticated in a manner which no human reasoning could overthrow, His assertion that He was the Son of God, and the Sent of God to be the Saviour of the world. It had illustrated the nature of that imperishable life which He Himself possessed, and which He communicated to all who identified themselves with Him. It had shown with what approbation and honour the Almighty regarded One who had been persecuted to a shameful death.

It had surrounded the very cross of Calvary with glory. The early Christians in general, and no doubt the Corinthian Christians along with them, knew well that the Church of Christ had not been founded only upon a Saviour who died, but upon One who, though crucified in weakness, had been raised by the power of God; and the life which they lived was life in a risen Lord. Therefore it is that, whatever the doubts they might entertain with regard to their own resurrection, the chapter before us affords not the slightest intimation that they entertained any with regard to the Resurrection of Jesus.

Yet, although this was the case, St. Paul feels that it was of the utmost importance to restate the truths already in their minds, and to impress these truths upon them with renewed power. The difference is vast between acknowledging that a thing is true, and seeing that truth stand out before our eyes in the clearness of deep and deliberate conviction. In the former case the truth may have no possession of us. It may be in our minds like seed laid up in a storehouse, retaining indeed the principle of life, and ready for use at some future day, but as yet without vigour or result. In the latter case it is like seed cast into a soil which contains all the appropriate conditions for its growth, and to which it is no sooner committed than it begins to sprout, and to send up first the blade, and then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear. Would we know the power of any truth that we have believed, we need to be constantly returning to it, constantly renewing our acquaintance with it, constantly satisfying ourselves, amidst all the fresh experiences that we make, of its reality and value.

Hence it is that, before entering upon the special argument of this chapter, St. Paul states again the substance of his Gospel, and that in such a way as ought to have awakened the most tender and powerful impressions in connection with it.

I. *First*, he reminds the Corinthian Christians of the contents of that Gospel which he had preached at Corinth. These contents are contained in the verses extending from ver. 3 to ver. 8, and the double introduction of the words "according to the Scriptures" gives the key to the arrangement of the particulars mentioned. In the first place, these are four in number, divided into two groups, the first group embracing the facts that the Lord Jesus Christ died for our sins and was buried; the second, that He rose from the grave on the third day and that He appeared after his Resurrection to the persons named. In the second place, the words "according to the Scriptures" show us, from the manner in which they are introduced, not only that we are dealing with two groups of facts, but that the chief stress of the statement is laid upon the first of the two particulars mentioned in each group,—“Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and,” etc.; “He hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures, and,” etc. In other words, the Gospel preached by St. Paul consisted mainly of the two great truths that Christ died for our sins and that He rose again. The other two are subordinate and subsidiary. That Christ was “buried” is no doubt even in itself full of consolation to the Christian mind, not simply because, as commentators so often think, it attests His death or prepares the way for His Resurrection, but because it illustrates His complete identification of Himself with all the different stages of our human history. Not only did he pass through life and death before us, He passed also through that grave in which we must one day be laid in a solitude upon which no friend of earth can break. That after His Resurrection Christ appeared to Cephas and the others who are here mentioned, is likewise of the utmost importance; for it assures us that, in accepting the crowning doctrine of our faith, we are following no cunningly-devised fable or fond delusion, but are dealing with a fact established by most abundant and varied evidence. Yet,

important as these two points may be, they are not themselves the substance of the Gospel. That substance is to be found in the two immediately preceding them—Christ died for our sins, and rose again on the third day.

Even this, however, is not all. The words "rose again" of the Authorized Version do not bring out the meaning of the original. We ought to read, with the Revised Version, "hath been raised;" and the difference between the two renderings, though the latter may be unmarked, or, when it is marked, may be blamed by many, is one of those differences that carry with them a whole world of theology. The reading "rose again" tells us only that on the third morning Jesus burst the bonds of death, and came forth victorious from the grave, a conqueror over it in His own Divine and triumphant might. The reading "hath been raised" tells us that He not only rose, but that in the state in which He rose He continued when the Apostle wrote, and by parity of reasoning continues still. It conveys to us the assurance that He did not die again, but that having died once He dieth no more: death hath no more dominion over Him. He lives, unchangeably the same, for ever.

And now we see what the two leading points of St. Paul's Gospel were. In conformity with the whole teaching of Scripture, they were these,—first, Christ died for our sins; secondly, He hath been raised and He lives for ever. These truths may not be separated from each other. God hath joined them together: no man may put them asunder. They include the whole history of Christ from His Incarnation onward; and because they include His history, they include also that of His people. Without the first the second would bring little comfort to us in our sinfulness. Even supposing for a moment (what, however, the Apostle afterwards declares to be impossible) that Christ had passed through the grave to a glorious Resurrection without our being concerned in His work, it is conceivable that we might have no part with Him in

that Resurrection. Looked at in itself, it might convey to us no earnest or foretaste of our own. Because He rose who was the Only-begotten of the Father, who did always and perfectly the Father's will, and in whom the Father was always well pleased, it would not follow that we who had violated the Divine commandments, and in whose case death was not a mere transition stage to life, should also rise. It is Christ's dying for our sins as our Representative, which gives us hope that, partakers of His death, we shall also be partakers of His Resurrection. Without the second truth, again, the first would be of as little avail. "If Christ hath not been raised," says St. Paul in the seventeenth verse of the chapter, "your faith is vain ; ye are yet in your sins,"—words which do not mean simply that our sins are not forgiven us, but that we must still be living in sin as the element of our whole moral being. It is in Christ the risen Saviour that we are introduced into that new and higher and heavenly life in which we are to walk ; and except when brought into that life, the life which can alone satisfy the desires and complete the glory of our nature, we cannot be at peace. Thus the death and Resurrection of Christ must always go together as two sides of one compound truth. The separation too often made between them in theology is not found in the writings of St. Paul.

Upon the details of the manifestations of Himself by the Risen Lord, contained in the verses extending from ver. 5 to ver. 8, it does not seem necessary to dwell. One or two points, however, may be briefly noticed. (1) The word "appeared" must denote actual and bodily appearances of the Risen Saviour, and not visions of the mental eye. We know from the Gospels that it was thus that Christ appeared in several of the instances here recorded, and the sense of the word applicable to some must be applied to all. The use of the word too in 1 Tim. iii. 16, "appeared to angels" (not "seen of angels," as in the Authorized and Revised Versions), is conclusive upon the point. Angels surely do not see

visions. (2) All the appearances recorded belong to a date anterior to the conversion of the Apostle. No hesitation can be felt upon this point except in the case of that mentioned in ver. 8, the appearance to St. Paul himself. Yet the words in which the Apostle designates himself as the *τὸ ἔκτρομα* of the apostolic band, hardly admit of any other interpretation. St. Paul felt, as he tells us in the next following verse, connected with that preceding by the word "for," that he was the least of the Apostles, and that he was not meet to be called an Apostle, *because he persecuted the Church of God*. Therefore it was that he deserves to be called the *ἔκτρομα*, "the abortion," among the rest, and the time which suggested such a humiliating name was that when he was yet a persecutor. (3) The words "last of all" in ver. 8, when viewed in their relation to the several times repeated *ἔπειτα* ("then") of the previous verses, seem distinctly to imply that the manifestation spoken of was not only the last of the particular series to which allusion had been made, and which might therefore have been afterwards renewed, but that it was the final appearance of the Risen Lord in the form and way then in question. (4) There is difficulty in determining the principle upon which the different appearances of the Risen Christ, here gathered together by St. Paul, are grouped. The mention of "the twelve" in ver. 5, compared with that of "all the Apostles" in ver. 7, is sufficient to show that the arrangement is not chronological. It would seem rather that the whole number is divided into two groups, each consisting of three members. The first group will then have special relation to Christ's disciples in their home life, and that in three rising gradations—Peter, the twelve, the five hundred, all of these being viewed in their personal relation to Jesus; the second to the disciples looked at in their action on the world, again in three rising gradations—James the head of the Church at Jerusalem, all the Apostles (sent out upon their mission), the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Once more, before passing from that aspect of the two great truths of these verses, Christ's death and His endless life after death, which we are now considering, it may be well to notice that these truths embody not facts alone, but facts accomplished through the eternal purpose of God. Such is the meaning of the words "according to the Scriptures" associated with each. For, when he thus speaks, it is no mere fulfilment of prophecy that is in the Apostle's mind. He does not wish merely to tell us that, hundreds of years before the events took place, the death and Resurrection of Jesus had been foretold by prophets, and that in the fulfilment of their predictions, in the correspondence of event with prophecy, we have an assurance that we are dealing not with mistaken traditions but with actual fact. He refers to the Scriptures, and the mention made in them of these things, for a different purpose. These Scriptures were the expression of the Divine will. They were the record of the Divine doings. They were the revelation of the Divine purposes. What they contained was either a statement or an illustration of the unchangeable principles of the Divine economy.

When, accordingly, we find the death and the life after death of the coming Redeemer spoken of in the Scriptures with gradually increasing clearness as the time for their accomplishment drew nigh, we are invited to think of them as far more than a simple fulfilment of prophecy. They are a part of the execution of God's great plan. They have their place in the Divine administration of the universe. They are not a scheme devised by man, or angel, or even by the Son Himself, to procure redemption for us. In them God accomplishes His own ends. He sent the Son. He so "loved the world as to give His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life."

II. *Secondly*, the object of the Apostle in these introductory verses of the chapter is not merely to tell the Corinthian

Christians the contents of that Gospel which he preached, as he had often told it them before. His aim is so to tell it that they shall be reminded of its power, and be thus the better prepared for the important consequences to be connected with it in the subsequent portion of the chapter. Hence, accordingly, he reminds them—

(1) That it was this Gospel which had first awakened them to spiritual life. "Now I make known unto you," he says in verse 1, not only "the Gospel which I preached unto you," but "which also ye received." He takes them back to the moment when he had first come among them as the Apostle of a Risen Lord, and when by the tidings which he preached they had been first led to faith. What a moment never to be forgotten had that been! In that fair city which was the eye of Greece they had been cultivating their philosophy, and it had failed to satisfy either the questionings of the intellect or the longings of the heart. The wisest teachers of the day had been at their command, but they "through wisdom knew not God" (chap. i. 21). Idolatry in its most debasing forms, heathenism with its most impure and degrading rites, prevailed on every side. Then the Apostle came. He had been persecuted in Thessalonica. He had been driven from Berea. He had been compelled to leave Athens, and it was with the marks of suffering upon him that he had arrived at Corinth. But the opposition that he had met with had only roused his spirit. The Lord had appeared to him in the night by a vision, and had said, "Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace: for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee; for I have much people in this city" (Acts xviii. 9, 10); he had obeyed the vision, and had continued there a year and six months teaching the word of God among them, with what success they could themselves best testify.

These were affecting memories,—affecting to St. Paul, not less affecting to the Corinthian Christians; and they were all brought up by the words "which also ye received." Well,

then, is the Apostle's argument, ye remember that spring-time of your spiritual life, and that the truth which then produced the change was that regarding a Redeemer who had passed through death to everlasting and glorious life, and whom I could then proclaim to you as the Risen and Living Lord. Surely you will think of that truth now as one to be held fast in faith. Not only so—

(2) The Apostle reminds them that this was the truth which from that moment until now had maintained their spiritual life in vigour. "Wherein also," he says, ver. 2, "ye stand." He had not only the past to appeal to, but the present, the multiplied evidences of Divine grace that could be seen, the manifold fruits of the Christian life that were exhibited, among them. In no early Christian church were these results so conspicuous as in Corinth. Nowhere did they find so rich a soil from which to spring. The life of the Corinthian Christians was fuller and more striking than in any other city of the time.

Again, therefore, the appeal is to the same purpose as before. I do not send you, says the Apostle, only to the past. I bid you look at what you have continued to be down to this very hour. Notwithstanding all your shortcomings and sins, you know that you have a Divine life among you, a life that connects you with God and a higher world than the present. By what is it maintained? Is it not by that very Gospel which I preached at first, that we have a Lord who has passed through death to His exaltation at the right hand of God? He it is who supplies from His own living presence what keeps you alive. Because He is with you alway, you are what you are. Surely you will think of that truth now as one to be held fast in faith. Once more—

(3) St. Paul connects this faith with the attainment of a full salvation. "By which also," he says in ver. 2, "ye are saved," or rather, however unpleasant the English may be, "ye are being saved:" that is, by which also ye are receiving

larger measures of salvation, and shall at last obtain the full salvation for which ye wait and long. The salvation spoken of is not to be understood in the sense of mere deliverance from the penalty of sin, in the theological sense of justification. We shall fail to comprehend the root of the Apostle's reasoning if we identify these two, as if the man who is justified were also saved, or the man who is saved were no more than justified. Salvation is a far wider word than justification. It includes not pardon only but spiritual life, deliverance of the soul from the power not less than the punishment of sin, restoration to the Divine image, conformity of character to the inheritance of the saints in light. And whence is the hope of this salvation obtained? Not simply from the death of Christ. There we may obtain pardon for past offences. There we may feel that our sins are covered in the blood of Him who, as our Representative, took upon Him death for us. But there we have not, nor in the nature of the case can we have, life. Life flows from life. It may spring up in the midst of death, but not from death. It is a Living Lord who quickens us to be partakers of His own life. Christian hope is more than the hope of deliverance from sorrow or crying or pain. It is first and most of all the hope of deliverance from sin, to be no more tempted to evil either from within or from without, to be like the Lord when we see Him as He is. Surely we ought to think of this truth also as one to be held fast in faith.

Such is the statement with which the Apostle opens the argument of this chapter. It is a statement of fact and an appeal to experience. There is undoubtedly proof presented of the fact that Christ rose from the grave. But there could be no proof by witnesses who could be seen and questioned, that Christ was living still at the right hand of the Father an endless life of glory. For that the Corinthian Christians must depend upon positive assertion confirmed by undeniable experience of the result. Even the witnesses of the Resur-

rection of Christ are cited less as witnesses to prove a point, than as witnesses who tell an old story over again in order to revivify the convictions of their hearers. St. Paul is not dealing with sceptics as to the Resurrection of the Lord to whom it is necessary to present a proof, but with persons whose eyes were only becoming dim to it, and their hearts insensible to its influence. All, both Apostle and converts, are agreed upon one point, and have one point to start from. The Christ who had died and risen again, who had passed through death to life, was the substance of their common faith. Whether it was St. Paul himself or his fellow-Apostles, so they preached, and so the Corinthians believed. Let the latter think over it again; and, as they were even now persuaded of the truth itself, let them be prepared to follow it out, as they would follow out all truth, to the consequences which were legitimately involved in it.

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THE REVISION OF THE ENGLISH OLD TESTAMENT.

No. II.

IN revising the English Old Testament a task very early engaged our attention, namely, how best to render the technical terms of the Mosaic Law: these occur so frequently in the Pentateuch, and indeed elsewhere, that it is of considerable importance to arrive at an understanding on this matter, and to adhere to it. Various opinions were entertained as to the importance of uniformity of rendering in general: but there was no difference of opinion here, it was felt to be most desirable if it were by any means attainable. Even a cursory glance at our work will show a good deal of what we have done, and what we have been unable to do.

Two very common words describe the assembled people, קָהָל and עֵדָה, which the Authorized Version so far discriminated, rendering the latter almost always "congregation," and the former "assembly" often but by no means generally. It seemed best to carry out this distinction, in the Pentateuch at all events: because, whatever precisely made the difference, there cannot be a doubt that it did exist, if we look to the use of the two words in such a narrative as Num. xx. 1, 8, 11, 22, 27, 29, compared with v. 4, 6, 10, 12; or Ex. xvi. 1, 2, 10, 22, with v. 3. Both words, however, are also rendered "company," as in the history of Korah, Num. xvi., and often in Ezekiel. Indeed, after we left the Pentateuch, the distinction was not kept up by the Revisers, unless it appeared in the Authorized Version, as in Josh. xviii. 1, "The whole *congregation* of the children of Israel *assembled* themselves together at Shiloh." The verbs connected with these two nouns are also sometimes discriminated, as in the verse just quoted: see also

in the Revision, "Assemble thou all the congregation, . . . and the congregation was assembled," Lev. viii. 3, 4. And see Num. viii. 9, xvi. 3, 19, xx. 2, Deut. iv. 10, xxxi. 12, 28; the verb "assemble," in connection with the technical noun "assembly," suggesting or implying something more orderly and formal than the verb "gather" in the Authorized Version, which might and often does represent a bringing together without any such implication. The verb, again, which is connected with "congregation" suggests not a stated or orderly assembling, but a coming together by appointment or agreement; it is sometimes rendered "appointed," 2 Sam. xx. 5, etc., and it is said of Job's friends that they "made an appointment together to come to bemoan him," Job ii. 11; and this idea of an appointment is to be understood when we read of "assembling themselves," Ps. xlviii. 4, or "gathering themselves," Num. x. 3, 4, xvi. 11, xxvii. 3, or "met together," Josh. xi. 5, where the old margin had "*Heb.* assembled by appointment." And thus we read now in Amos iii. 3, more distinctly than in the Authorized Version, "shall two walk together, except they have agreed," and in the margin, "or, made an appointment." The Scottish Revisers often regretted that "tryst," the old word, still well known in their country, was inadmissible: it expresses so shortly and precisely what is wanted. And, moreover, it would have conducted us straight to the best conceivable rendering of another noun of the same family, מִטְעַר, grossly mistranslated in the extremely frequent expression "tabernacle of the congregation," whereas its meaning is "trysting tent" or "tent of tryst," according to the promise, "there I will meet with thee," namely, by appointment, Ex. xxv. 22, xxix. 42, 43, xxx. 6, 36; Num. xvii. 4. Not being able to employ this word, we took "tent of meeting," this noun answering to the verb in these verses quoted.

But this was the smaller part of our difficulty and cause of regret. Could we only have used "tryst" in our transla-

tion, every reader of the Pentateuch in Hebrew knows how very common this word is; and he may easily see what a flood of light would have been thrown on its pages for the English reader. The classical passage is Lev. xxiii., where we have the list of the three great annual "feasts," as in our difficulty we are accustomed to call them, headed by the weekly Sabbath. The passage would have run thus: "The trysts of the LORD which ye shall proclaim to be holy convocations, even these are my trysts. Six days shall work be done: but on the seventh day is a Sabbath of solemn rest, an holy convocation. . . . These are the trysts of the LORD, even holy convocations, which ye shall proclaim in their tryst," or "trysting time." But for want of this word we have to use "set feast" and "appointed season," connecting them by a marginal reference. We have done our best to express the one Hebrew word by one or other of these English words: yet we have not been able. Not to dwell on the peculiar description of Korah's accomplices, Num. xvi. 2, in the Authorized Version "famous in the congregation," and in the Revision "called to the assembly," there is the list of the public sacrifices to be offered "in their due season," Num. xxviii. 2. And the three annual "set feasts" are also named by us, following the Authorized Version, "solemn assemblies," Hos. ii. 11, ix. 5,¹ and even "solemn feast," Hos. xii. 9; not of course in the modern usual sense of the adjective, but in the earlier sense derived from the Latin, and not wholly unknown at present, as in the noun "solemnity," which we have also once or twice retained, Isa. xxxiii. 20;¹ Ezek. xlvi. 11.¹ Once indeed we have retained the Authorized Version simpler rendering "feasts," because that modern meaning of "solemn" would have occasioned an unendurable awkwardness, had we rendered Zech. viii. 19 "cheerful solemn feasts." But why not have used this simpler rendering "feast" in all cases? For two

¹ With a marginal rendering.

reasons: the one that feasting is not at all the idea in the word, but solemnity in the sense of setness, if I may coin the word; the other, that we required "feast" to render a different word מִזְבֵּחַ (though under stress of circumstances we have felt compelled to represent this in the text by "sacrifice," Ps. cxviii. 27; Mal. ii. 3), also frequently applied to these solemnities. Indeed it is the occurrence of the two words together which often creates a difficulty to the translator, who cannot well say, feasts and set feasts, or, feasts and solemn feasts. The verb and noun of this other root are rightly retained by us in such passages as Ex. xxiii. 14, 15, "Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the year. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep," etc. One other term (assuming two slightly different forms) occasioned trouble to us, as it did to our predecessors, who translated it also "a solemn assembly," but distinguishing it from the *tryst*, by adding in the margin "or, day of restraint." That rendering no longer appears on our margin, but we have added another, "a closing festival" at Lev. xxiii. 36, 2 Chron. vii. 9, Neh. viii. 18, to which we have referred in the margin at Num. xxix. 35 and Deut. xvi. 8. In the passages of the prophets, Joel i. 14, ii. 15, Amos v. 21, Isa. i. 13 (in which last we have not altered the Authorized Version "solemn meeting"), we did not judge it needful to put anything in the margin; nor at Jer. ix. 2, "assembly," where it seems to occur in a figurative or derivative sense. We might perhaps have given it in the only other passage, 2 Kings x. 20, in case Jehu had a grim *double entendre* in his mind when he said, "Sanctify a solemn assembly for Baal," which was to be in a fearful sense a closing festival for him and his worshippers in Israel.

In regard to two out of the three annual *trysts* or feasts we had no reason to change the name, the feast of unleavened bread and the feast of weeks. But we should probably have changed "the feast of the tabernacles" into "the feast of

booths," as being so much more exact and expressive, had not the old rendering seemed too firmly established by usage to be dislodged. We have, however, placed "booths" in the margin, Lev. xxiii. 34, so as to connect it with verses 42, 43; and so again at Deut. xvi. 13. Compare Neh. viii. 14-17.

A term occurring in a text quoted already, שַׁבָּת, has been translated "solemn rest" instead of "rest" (which represents other words), in the comparatively few cases in which we meet with it, Ex. xvi. 23, xxxi. 15, xxxv. 2; Lev. xxiii. 3, 24, 32, 39 (twice unfortunately in the Authorized Version "a sabbath"), xxv. 4, 5.

The Jewish year being lunar, it is natural that the same word should be used for "month" and "new moon." In Num. xxix. 6, "the offering of the month" has been changed to "the offering of the new moon." Compare 1 Sam. xx. 5; 2 Kings iv. 23; Isa. i. 13, 14, etc.

The sacrificial system compelled us to give great attention to the terms employed, we hope with some measure of success, though not coming up to our ideal. In general the verb כָּפַר in the Authorized Version is rendered "to make an atonement:" however, as it is a single word in Hebrew, we thought it an improvement to omit the article, and to render, "to make atonement." Yet it is proper to notice variations in the grammatical construction. Very commonly it is followed by the preposition לְ, and here we have followed the general usage of the Authorized Version, "make atonement for:" though once, besides twice in the margin, we have retained the physical meaning of the preposition "upon," Ex. xxx. 10, "over," Lev. xvi. 10, where some feel a difficulty which I do not about atonement for the altar of incense and the so-called scape-goat. Much more rarely the preposition עָלַי is used, particularly in Lev. xvi. 6, 11, 17 thrice, 24; no great difference in sense suggests itself, perhaps a little more emphasis, which might have been indicated in English by a fuller expression, such as "on behalf of." But the verb is also used with an

accusative, or absolutely, in either case all prepositions being absent: we have represented this by "atoning for," Lev. xvi. 20, and "make atonement," vv. 27, 32, 33: much may be said also for the Authorized Version "reconcile," ver. 20, Ezek. xlv. 20; "reconciliation" for "atonement" still appears in Dan. ix. 24. We have also retained "purge" in this construction, understanding a ceremonial or forensic purging, and not a moral purifying; as is seen by our changing it to "make atonement for," Ezek. xliii. 20, and in other cases by our placing "expiate" in the margin, 1 Sam. iii. 14, Isa. vi. 7, xxii. 14, xxvii. 9, and "atoned for," Prov. xvi. 6; it would have made our work complete had we done the same with "purge away," Ps. lxxix. 9. And similarly we have altered "the land cannot be cleansed" into "no expiation can be made for the land," Num. xxxv. 33. The same idea is meant to be conveyed, Isa. xlvii. 11, "thou shalt not be able to put it away," instead of the Authorized Version, "to put it off," with "expiate" in the margin. In fact we have thrice been content to retain the Authorized Version "forgive," Deut. xxi. 8, Ps. lxxviii. 38, Jer. xviii. 23, though this is rather the result of expiation: the Authorized Version has expressed the motive to expiation, "be merciful," once in Deut. xxi. 8, and again at xxxii. 43, where we have altered it to "make expiation for his land, for his people." We have also retained "pacify," Prov. xvi. 14, but have altered it to "forgive" at Ezek. xvi. 63. One other rendering is retained at Isa. xxviii. 18, "Your covenant with death shall be *disannulled*:" though I should be prepared to accept here, "shall be atoned for," not in respect of those who made that covenant (see Isa. xxii. 14), but in respect of others on whom guilt and punishment had been brought by it.

It only remains to add here that we have endeavoured to carry out uniformly the habitual renderings for three Hebrew words, by the three English words, "iniquity," "transgression," and "sin." There is a case or two of leaving

unchanged "trespass" for the second of these, Gen. xxxi. 36, Ex. xxii. 9; and for the third we have "punishment" in Zech. xiv. 19, yet with "sin" in the margin. Also we have thought it well to discriminate the rendering of *חַטָּאת* and of *פְּשָׁעָה*, though there may be no strongly-marked distinction in the sense; the former is represented by "unwittingly," sometimes with "in (or, through) error" in the margin, and the latter by "unawares:" see Lev. iv. 2, 22, 27, v. 15, 18, xxii. 14; Num. xxxv. 11, 15; Deut. iv. 42, xix. 4; Josh. xx. 3, 5.

Since the Apostle tells us that the Law was added to the promises made to the patriarchs "because of transgression," and that he "had not known sin except through the Law," we may expect its vocabulary to be full and precise, not only in the way of expressing various aspects of sinfulness, to which I have adverted, but also in the way of expressing the removal of this by various expedients of atonement or expiation. Besides the verb for that general idea, the word for sin became also the name for a very intense form of offering for sin; and we have retained the name in the Authorized Version, "a sin-offering." There is, moreover, a verb formed upon this stem, for which we found no satisfactory equivalent in English: we have retained "to offer for sin" Lev. vi. 26, ix. 15; and we might have said "make a sin-offering," as we have done, 2 Chron. xxix. 24, but besides the objection from its length, we need this phrase for the Hebrew when there is the verb "to offer" conjoined with the noun "sin-offering;" so that for the most part we have left the rendering "cleanse" or "purify," and once "purge," Ps. li. 7. The reflexive form of the verb occurs eight times in Numbers, rendered "to purify oneself;" only in chap. viii. 21 we have added "from sin."

The kindred notion of guilt is expressed by *אָשָׁם* and its related words. We have endeavoured to render the verb uniformly, bringing "guilt" or "guilty" at least into the

margin, where it was more convenient to follow the Authorized Version in the text, where it has "trespass" or "offend," or "be desolate." It was an unavoidable further step, when the word designated a sacrifice, which is not easily distinguished from the sin-offering, to change "trespass-offering" into "guilt-offering." No change was needed on the old common sacrificial words "burnt-offerings" and "peace-offerings;" on the latter we have retained the marginal rendering "thank-offerings," Amos v. 22. There is, however, one other word, in the Authorized Version "meat-offering," which never can have been a very satisfactory rendering, since it stands in no sort of connection with any of the words translated "meat," even at that time when meat was a word employed in a comprehensive signification, as equivalent to "food." In our times the use of the word is often so definitely restricted that we were compelled to seek for a new rendering, since the old one would have been very liable to be taken in a sense diametrically opposite to what is intended, as if it meant flesh; while at all events it in no way helped the reader to take notice of what is really the great division of Hebrew offerings into the two classes of bloody and bloodless, or virtually animal and vegetable. In the circumstances, we thought ourselves fortunate in obtaining a new word "meal-offering," by the change of a single letter; for though it is not absolutely adequate, it approximates to this, as any one may see by reading Lev. ii. We could not conceal from ourselves, however, a difficulty of interpretation (rather than of translation in its narrowest sense) which we have left as we found it in the Authorized Version. It is clear that this word מִנְחָה is often used in the indefinite sense of a gift or a present, whether made to God or made to man: in a number of instances we have placed or left "offering" in the text, while in the margin we have added "meal-offering." Sometimes, indeed, we have used another word of the same meaning, according to etymology and general usage, "oblation;" see examples in the prophets, Isa. i. 13, xix. 21,

lvii. 6, lxvi. 3, Jer. xiv. 12, xvii. 26, xxxiii. 18, xli. 5, Dan. ix. 21, 27, which indicate our prevailing habit: in Malachi we invariably leave the Authorized Version "offering;" and in Ezekiel, Joel, and Amos (once only in margin) we render "meal-offering," as the context points us manifestly to the technical signification. We admit that here there were difficulties which we did not feel competent to meet with our resources of language. For there is still another Hebrew word, מִנְחָה, chiefly met with in the Pentateuch, Nehemiah, and Ezekiel xlv. and xlviii., which we have left very much as we found it, sometimes used in the technical sense of "heave-offering," but many a time quite generally "offering" or "oblation," though we have at times added the technical rendering as an alternative in the margin, Ezek. xlv. 30, Mal. iii. 8. Theoretically, but scarcely practically, there is a like difficulty with the word תְּנוּפָח: we have given the technical rendering "wave-offering" even oftener than the Authorized Version, so that I think it is now represented by "offering" only in Ex. xxxv. 22, xxxviii. 24, 29. Our difficulties, through the impossibility of adequately reproducing the words of one language in those of another, come out in such a passage as Ezek. xx. 40, "There will I require your offerings, and the first-fruits of your oblations;" where "oblations" is used for still another word, מִנְחָה, which, however, has no sacrificial meaning, so that in our Revision we render it "tax," 2 Chron. xxiv. 6, 9; "present," Jer. xl. 5, and here in the margin "tribute."

There is one very common word, the most general of all, including gifts laid on God's altar and gifts otherwise devoted to Him, "corban" as it appears in our English Bible at Mark vii. 11. In the Authorized Version this is variously rendered "oblation," "offering," and (once) "sacrifice:" we have, I think, uniformly adhered to the first word, except that we have left "offering" at Ezek. xx. 28, probably by an oversight. The cognate verb brought us face to face with greater diffi-

culties. I suppose we might with strict accuracy have rendered it "bring near" or "cause to come near," or the like, as sometimes in the Authorized Version, and oftener in our Revision, of persons, Ex. xxviii. 1, Num. iii. 6, v. 16, xvi. 5, 9, 10, xviii. 2, though much more frequently we have left the shorter "bring:" we have retained, and made more nearly uniform, "offer," when the verb had "an offering," "an oblation" (which is very frequent), or any particular kind of offering, as its object; and when the object is a person, an animal, the blood, or the like, we have made considerably larger use of "present" than the Authorized Version has done, Lev. i. 5, viii. 18, 22, ix. 9, 15, 16, 17, Num. v. 9, vi. 16, viii. 9, 10. But there are other verbs used much in the same sense, which we have not been able to discriminate in our translation, particularly זָבַח, עָשָׂה, and הִעֲלֶה.

One expression has been unfortunately rendered a few times in the Authorized Version, "of his own voluntary will," Lev. i. 3, "at your own will," Lev. xix. 5, xxii. 19, 29. It ought to have been, as elsewhere, "to be acceptable," or "to be accepted for you," or the like. And this correction we have made.

The Authorized Version renders זָבַח in several ways. It appears to us such a technical word that we have almost uniformly translated it "continual," or as an adverb, "continually," though "perpetual" is found at Ex. xxx. 8; "perpetually," Lev. vi. 20; "always," Num. ix. 16, Deut. xi. 12. In Dan. viii. 11, 12, 13, xi. 31, xii. 11, we are thus enabled to keep up the connection with the Pentateuchal language, by rendering "the continual *burnt-offering*," instead of, as in the Authorized Version, "the daily *sacrifice*."

GEORGE C. M. DOUGLAS.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES.

I.

THE Book of Jubilees, or The Little Genesis, is mentioned by name continually in the writings of the early Fathers, and by a succession of authors reaching to Theodorus Metochita (A.D. 1332). Allusions to information contained therein, without actual naming of the origin of the statements, are very numerous, so that the work was well and widely known up to the middle of the fourteenth century; but from that time the original has been entirely lost. For four hundred years nothing but a few scattered fragments was known to exist. The age, however, which witnessed the re-discovery of "The Assumption of Moses" has been gratified by the re-appearance of the Book of Jubilees. Dr. Krapff, an African missionary, found the Book in Abyssinia, had it transcribed, and sent the manuscript to the University Library in Tübingen. The work was an Ethiopian version of the original, complete, indeed, in one sense, but full of errors, and not a trustworthy representation of the original. It was translated by Dillman in Ewald's *Jahrbücher*, ii. and iii., with an Appendix containing discussions on the main points of interest. With the aid of another MS., Dillman published the Ethiopian text in 1859.¹ Some further fragments of two old Latin translations have been set forth by Ceriani and Rönsch,² and these with the Ethiopic text enable us to give a satisfactory account of this curious and long-lost work. Previously to the appearance of these publications, students

¹ Kufälâ, sive Liber Jubilæorum . . . nuper ex Abyssinia in Europam allatus. Æthiopice ad duorum librorum MSS. fidem primum ed. Dr. Aug. Dillman (Kiliæ et Londini, 1859).

² Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codd. præsertim Biblioth. Ambrosianæ*. Mediol. 1861, Tom. i. Fasc. i. Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubilæen oder die kleine Genesis* (Leipz. 1874).

who desired to know anything about the Book had to refer to Fabricius' *Codex. Pseudep.* V. T., wherein were collected such fragments as had been preserved by Jerome and other early writers. Some years later, A. Treuenfels¹ added a few other passages discovered by himself, comparing them with the Jewish Midrashim, the correspondence with which he was the first to proclaim. But these fragments gave a very inadequate impression of the contents of the *Parva Genesis*, and the announcement in 1844 of the existence of a complete copy was hailed with delight by the learned world.

Some difficulty had occurred in earlier investigations in fixing the identity of the Book from which the citations were made, owing to the different appellations under which it was known, or reference was made to it. The oldest reference, that in Epiphanius,² calls it "Jubilees," or "The Book of Jubilees," a very fitting designation of a treatise which divided the history of which it treated into periods of Jubilees, *i.e.* of forty-nine years, the author, in his strong partiality for the number seven, departing from the Mosaic principle which counted the fiftieth as the year of release (Lev. xxv. 10). Epiphanius and many others also name it "The Little Genesis," Microgenesis, Leptogenesis, or τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως—the minutiae of Genesis³—appellations appropriate to it not as being less in bulk than the scriptural record, but as giving particulars of name, date, and other "small matters" not found in the canonical book. Other references are current, which probably, though not with certainty, appertain to this book. Thus Syncellus⁴ more than once alludes to "what is

¹ "Die kleine Genesis," in *Literaturbl. d. Orients*, 1846, Nos. 1-8. Other works on the subject are these: A. Jellinek, *Bei ha-Midrash*, Th. 1-3 (Leipz. 1853-1855). B. Beer, *Das Buch der Jubil. u. sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim* (Leipz. 1856); and *Noch ein Wort über d. B. d. Jub.* (Leipz. 1857). Frankel in *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. des Judenthums*, 1856, 1857.

² *Haeres.* xxxix.: ὅς ἐστιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὑπόκειται, ὅτι καὶ Ἀποτὴ Γενίῳ (αἱ λεπτογενίῳ) καλουμένη.

³ Hieron. *Ep.* 127, Ad Fabiol. Syncell. *Chronogr.* p. 3.

⁴ *Chronogr.* pp. 7-9: ὁ λεγόμενος βίος Ἀδάμ.

called *The Life of Adam*," quoting from it passages which occur in "*The Jubilees*," so that it seems likely that the work which he names is merely a portion of the latter. The same is also true of "*The Book of Adam's Daughters*," mentioned in a decree of Pope Gelasius.¹ The title "*Apocalypse of Moses*," Syncellus himself applies to "*Little Genesis*."² In the Ambrosian MS. our Book is followed immediately by "*The Assumption of Moses*," as though this formed an appendix to the former; and in the catalogues of Pseudo-Athanasius and Nicephorus, "*The Testament (Διαθήκη) of Moses*" directly precedes "*The Assumption*;" so that it is not unlikely that "*The Testament of Moses*" is merely another name for "*The Book of Jubilees*."

The original language of the Book is without doubt Hebrew or Aramaic. Many expressions in the version are unintelligible without reference to this text; Hebrew or Aramaic etymologies of proper names are given; and we have Jerome's express statement³ that certain Hebrew words on which he is commenting are found in what he calls "*Microgenesis*." There are also numerous passages wherein our Book agrees with the Hebrew in opposition to the Septuagint,⁴ and some where it

¹ Mansi, *Conc.* viii. 167, where, according to Rönisch, p. 478, the correct reading is: "*Liber de filiabus Adæ, hoc est Leptogenesis*."

² P. 4: *ὁ καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐν αὐτῇ φασὶ τοῖς ἀποκάλυψιν*. So, p. 49, a little before, Syncellus refers the clause in Gal. vi. 15: "*Neither circumcision availeth anything*," etc., to "*The Revelation of Moses*." Tischendorf in his critical note writes: "*Item Syncell. teste Gb., sed ignoro locum*." The clause in question is not found in our present text of "*Jubilees*;" but as this is confessedly very imperfect, the omission proves nothing.

³ *Ep.* 127, Ad Fabiol.: "*Hoc verbum [חַיָּה], quantum memoria suggerit, nusquam alibi in Scripturis sanctis apud Hebræos invenisse me novi absque libro apocrypho qui a Græcis Μικρογενεσις appellatur. Ibi in ædificatione turris pro stadio ponitur, in quo exercentur pugiles et athletæ et cursorum velocitas comprobatur.*" The passage referred to is lost in the Ethiopic version. Jerome again appeals to our Book in the same Epistle, *Mansione* 24: "*Hoc eodem vocabulo [חַיָּה] et iisdem literis scriptum invenio patrem Abraham, qui in supradicto apocrypho Genesæos volumine abactis corvis, qui hominum frumenta vastabant, abactoris vel depulsoris sortitus est nomen.*"

⁴ *E.g.* Gen. xlv. 22: "*Three hundred pieces of silver*;" Sept. "*gold*." iii. 17: "*Cursed is the ground for thy sake*;" Sept. "*in thy works*." xv. 11:

follows an independent Hebrew original. The present Ethiopic version, however, was made from a Greek and not a Hebrew original. This fact, which the history of other Abyssinian literature made antecedently probable, is confirmed by the introduction of Greek words into the text, *e.g.* *δρῦς, βάλανος, λίψ φάραγξ*, etc. Thus too we have the Septuagintal forms, Mambrim for Mamre, Geraron for Gerar, Kiriath Arbok for Kirjath-Arba, Aunan for Aner (Gen. xiv. 24), Heliopolis for On, Gesem for Goshen. On the other hand, if the old Latin may be supposed to have been translated directly from the Hebrew,¹ containing as it does many grammatical forms or phrases peculiar to that language, which would hardly have escaped alteration in passing through Greek into Latin, yet the translator seems to have been well acquainted with the work of the Seventy, and to have referred to this version in rendering his original.

"And when the fowls came down upon the carcases, Abram *drove them away*;" Sept. "sat among them." xxxvii. 29: "Let thy *mother's* sons bow down to thee;" Sept. "thy father's." On the other hand, some passages agree with the Greek version and not with the Hebrew. Thus Jab. ch. xxiv.: "And the servants of Isaac digged yet another well and found no water; and they went and told Isaac that they had found no water." The Hebrew of Gen. xxvi. 32 is: "We have found water;" but the LXX. give *οὐχ εὗρον ὕδωρ*. The introduction of Cainan as son of Arphaxad (ch. viii.) is supported by the Sept. but not by the Hebrew, and is further warranted to be original by the comparison of the number of created works, viz. twenty-two, with the number of the patriarchs from Adam to Jacob, who amount to twenty-two only by including this Cainan. See Frankel, v. p. 345. And some few differ from both. Thus Gen. xiii. 14 (Heb. and Sept.): "North, south, east, west;" Jubil. "West, south, east, north" (according to the Latin version). Gen. xxviii. 5: "The mother of Jacob and Esau;" Jubil. "mother of Jacob." After Gen. xxx. 28, Laban says: "Remain with me for wages, and feed my flocks again, and take thy wages,"—which has no exact counterpart in Heb. or Sept. For Gen. xxxiii. 18, where Heb. and Sept. coincide, Jubil. gives: "And Jacob moved further and dwelt towards the north in Magd Ladra Ephrathah." In the honour paid to Joseph, Gen. xli. 43, it is proclaimed before him, "El el Waabrir," in the Latin, "El el Haboid," or "El el et abior." From these variations it is natural to conclude that the writer used a text differing materially from the Masoretic recension.

¹ For the grounds for this statement see Rösensch, § 15, where the opinions on both sides are presented, the writer himself concluding that the Latin translator had before him the Greek rather than the Hebrew text.

As to the date of the composition, nothing can with certainty be determined. The author was well acquainted with and refers to the Book of Enoch, and has adopted many of its glosses on Old Testament history;¹ on the other hand, he himself has been known to, and probably quoted by, the writer of "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." If this is the case, as Rönsch and others² have with tolerable certainty demonstrated, we have at once a limitation of the period during which Leptogenesis was composed, and may assign it to some date between B.C. 100 and A.D. 100. But further limitation is possible. The author appears to have used the Second Book of Esdras, the genuine portions of which are attributed to the age immediately preceding the Christian era. Whether the writers of the New Testament were conversant with the Book of Jubilees is a question which we cannot here discuss. Certainly there are many points in the Angelology and Demonology of both which afford a striking similarity, and many expressions which are analogous or identical;³ but we will find no argument upon this. Some have traced an intentionally antichristian spirit in the work, and have thence inferred that it was produced some few years after the death of our Lord. We must at any rate date it before the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70. The seer speaks (ch. i.) of the Lord dwelling for ever in Sion, of the temple lasting to all time, and its holiness enduring to all eternity. Such expressions could not have been used by one who had witnessed the overthrow of the sacred city at the hands of the Romans. The great stress laid on the duty of sacrifice and of making the legal offerings points to the same conclusion. The writer must have had in his view a

¹ See Jubil. ch. iv. ; *Jahrb.* II. pp. 240, 241.

² Rönsch, § xi. ; and Dillman, *Jahrb.* III. p. 91 ff.

³ Thus : Abraham is inscribed in the heavenly tables as "a friend of the Lord," ch. xix. Cf. Jas. ii. 23. Noah, ch. vii., is said to have taught his sons and grandsons all God's commandments and the way of righteousness. Cf. 2 Pet. ii. 5.

regular ritual, and a temple wherein sacrifices were then offered, which, as he expressly says (ch. xxxii.), were to continue to the end of the world. We may therefore from the above considerations conclude that the Book was composed about the middle of the first Christian century.

That Palestine was the abode of the author may be justly inferred from the language in which the work was originally written. The few striking cases, where apparently the wording of the Septuagint has been adopted, must be attributed to the translator, as the well-known animosity against the Greek version exhibited by the Palestinian Jews precludes the possibility of the author himself employing it in writing his history. The angel of the vision orders Abram to transcribe the Hebrew books, and to teach that language to his descendants (ch. xii.)—an injunction which, understood as the author intended, could be carried out in no foreign land, but only in Palestine, the home of “Adam’s primitive language.” The stress laid upon complete separation from the heathen, and the necessity of holding aloof from all communication with exterior peoples, would have been absurd if addressed to any but dwellers in the promised land; and although attempts have been made to show that the writer was a priest of the Temple of Leontopolis, in Egypt, the evidence for this theory is feeble, and the argument is based on assumptions which are unproved. There are indeed certain intimations that the author followed sometimes a different tradition from that which obtained among the Jews of Palestine, as where he enjoins that the first-fruits of a tree in its fourth year should be brought to the altar, and that the remainder should be eaten by the ministers of the Lord before the altar (ch. vii.); whereas, according to the Palestinian Halacha, the fruit belonged to the owner of the tree absolutely, who was bound to consume it in Jerusalem.¹ And hence arises one of the arguments for the

¹ See Frankel, *Monatschr.* v. 384 ff.; Beer, *Das Buch. d. Jubil. and Noch ein Wort.*

theory that the work was composed in Egypt; but we have no proof that any of the traditions adopted by the author were especially of Egyptian origin; nor is it probable that a Hebrew treatise would emanate from that country. The Jews in Egypt, if we may believe the translator of Ecclesiasticus, had not maintained the knowledge of their ancient tongue; and the writings of Philo, the Book of Wisdom, and other works of that era, lead to the same conclusion.

The author is certainly a Jew. There is no Christian sentiment or opinion in the Book, not even a reference to a personal Messiah.¹ Equally free is it from Alexandrian philosophy. The author never allegorizes. He expands, explains, particularizes the scriptural accounts, but does not see in them types or figures of moral truths, and founds on them no philosophical speculations. He seems to stand between the apocryphal writers of the Old Testament and the composers of those Pseudepigraphic Books which were produced in early Christian times, as *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *The Ascension of Isaiah*. The teaching concerning angels and demons differs considerably from that which obtains e.g. in *The Book of Enoch*, and appears to be less developed and complete. From the reverence shown to the number seven and the marked importance attributed to the feast of the Sabbath, some have assigned the writer to the sect of Essenes;² but the grounds of this opinion are of little weight, and we must be satisfied with conjecturing that he

¹ Frankel (*Monatsschr.* v. 314) has detected a Christian influence in the wording of some passages; but the examples given are very far from being decisive. Thus in blessing Judah, Isaac says, "Be thou lord, thou and one of thy sons, over the sons of Jacob," where nothing more than the supremacy of Judah is necessarily implied. "I will send them witnesses," says the Lord to Moses (ch. i.), "and my witnesses they will slay." Here, it is said, is plainly introduced the Christian word *μάρτυρες*, where a Jew would have written "prophets," as 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16. But such expressions may fairly be laid to the account of the Ethiopian translator. Röscher has endeavoured to show that the author levelled some of his statements directly against Christian practices and doctrines: his arguments are to my mind inconclusive.

² See Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*.

was a man of learning, well read in Scripture, well acquainted with myth and legend, and belonging probably to the body of Scribes. Many apocalyptic writers have, with more or less fulness, narrated the history of the Jewish nation from the earliest times unto their own, but the method pursued by our author is, as far as we know, peculiar to himself, and can have been invented only by one who was not merely conversant with the sacred text and the traditions connected with it, oral or written, but was capable of taking a comprehensive view of a great subject, and had the desire of effecting important reforms in the observances of his co-religionists.

The form of the Book is peculiar. Professing to give a history of the world from the creation to the settlement in Canaan, it breaks up this period into divisions of Jubilees, and arranges all the facts narrated in the scriptural accounts into these segments of time. Moses is supposed to receive this revelation of past and future, while he tarried on Mount Sinai in the first year of the Exodus. This system of chronology is supposed to be a direct Apocalypse; it had not its origin in the days of Moses, but was known long before to the Patriarchs partly by tradition, partly by direct communication from God, and was a portion of the original design of God which He purposed from the creation. So the jubilee-reckoning is a heavenly system: all the history of God's people falls into this form, and Moses could not have known it had it not been revealed to him by the Lord. Thus the author presents his work stamped with the highest sanction, and at once disarms prejudice and wins assent by assuming Divine authority for his statements. "Moses was in the Mount forty days and forty nights, and the Lord taught him of the past and the future; He declared unto him the division of the days and the law and the testimony, and bade him write it in a book, that his posterity might know it and be warned against breaking the commandments of the Lord. And the Angel of the Presence, who went before the camp of Israel,

wrote out the revelation for Moses, and took the heavenly tables which contained the account of jubilees and weeks and days and seasons, and told him all that follows" (ch. i.). Thence to the end of the book we have history poured into this mould, the earlier part being made consistent by transferring to patriarchal times feasts and observances of later date. The events are treated with much freedom, and illustrated by amplification and tradition, so that the whole deserves the appellation which has been affixed to it, "a Haggadistic Commentary on the Book of Genesis."¹

We proceed to give some specimens of the treatment of biblical stories herein, premising that many of the additions and explanations may be found in other apocryphal works as well as in the Talmud, while others are peculiar to the author and have no existence in other treatises. We will for a moment omit chronological matters, with which our Book is greatly concerned, and confine our attention to other points. Many of the glosses on the inspired statements are made with a view of obviating real or supposed difficulties. Thus concerning the speech of the serpent, it is explained that in Paradise before the fall all animals spoke, but lost their power in consequence of Adam's sin (ch. iii.). Cain and Seth took their sisters as wives; and the names of the wives of all the chief patriarchs are carefully given as if from traditional genealogies. Adam's death at seventy years short of a thousand is a literal fulfilment of the curse, Gen. ii. 17, because he did die in "the day" in which he ate the forbidden fruit, one day being with the Lord as a thousand years (ch. iv.).² The angels brought the animals to the ark (ch. v.). Canaan, contrary to the advice of his father and his brethren, persisted in colonizing the land of Libanus from Hamath to the river of Egypt; and when Japhet moved westward, his son Madai

¹ Dr. Bissel in Lange's *Comment. on the Apocrypha*, p. 670.

² The same explanation is given by Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 81, cited by Dillm. and Rösner, who have noted the particulars mentioned above.

dwelt in the Median land—statements made to account for the fact that descendants of Ham and Japhet were found in the Semitic domain (ch. x.). Rebecca loved Jacob, because she knew that Abraham had been warned that that son of Isaac should be specially favoured by God (ch. xvi., xix.); and it was in the time of a great famine that Esau sold his birthright (ch. xxiv.). Reuben escaped the punishment due to his crime, because the law had not at that time been fully revealed (ch. xxxiii.). Er was slain because he would not receive the wife offered him by his father, but preferred to take one from the Canaanitish relations of his mother (ch. xli.). Judah's ignorance at the time and subsequent repentance obtained for him forgiveness of his sin with his daughter-in-law Tamar. Moses lay for seven days in the ark, during which time his mother came and suckled him by night, and his sister watched him by day to defend him from the birds (ch. xlvii.).

Sometimes remarks are introduced which have reference to earlier or later passages, and are intended to give a completion to the bare fact mentioned in the sacred text.¹ Of this nature is the appearance of the angel to Abraham and Sarah (ch. xvi.), in fulfilment of the promise in Gen. xviii. 14; Jacob's tithing of his goods in Bethel (ch. xxxii.), according to his vow, Gen. xxviii. 22; his purposing to build a sanctuary there, from which he was dissuaded by the angel in his dream; Jacob's war with seven Amorite kings (ch. xxxiv.), when he obtained the portion which he gave to Joseph (Gen. xlviii. 22).² The difficulties connected with the names and number of the members of Jacob's family that came into Egypt are not materially lightened by the statements of our book, which, omitting the two sons of

¹ I avail myself here of the references in Rönsch, p. 495, and *Jahrb.* iii. p. 79.

² This war is mentioned in The Test. of the Twelve Patr. (Test. Jud.) A different account is given in Josh. xxiv. 32.

Pharez and of Beriah (Gen. xlv. 12, 17), adds in their place four sons of Dan and one of Naphtali, all of whom died prematurely in Egypt, and makes Dinah to have met her death in the land of Canaan before the removal (ch. xlv.).

As additions to the inspired account may be mentioned such particulars as these: Adam took five days to name all the animals which came unto him, and, having seen them all, found none like himself, which could be a helpmate for him (ch. iii.); as soon as Eve had eaten of the fruit, she was ashamed, and made herself a garment of fig leaves; Adam was seven years in the garden of Eden, where he guarded the ground from birds and beasts, collected and stored the fruits, "dressed and kept it;" in the days of Jared the angels came down to earth to teach men righteousness (ch. iv.); Adam was the first who was buried in the earth; Cain met with his death by the fall of his house, a just retribution, that he who had slain his brother with a stone should himself be killed by a stone; the three sons of Noah built three towns on Mount Lubar, the part of Ararat on which the ark grounded, and where Noah was afterwards buried (ch. vii.). To these may be added the prolix account of Noah's distribution of the earth among his sons, and the curse laid on either who sought to take any portion which had not fallen to his share (ch. ix.); the statement about the position of the Tower of Babel, that it stood between the land of Assyria and Babylon in the land of Shinar, and that the asphalt used in its construction was brought from the sea and the springs in Shinar; the explanation of the selection of Levi for the priesthood by the principle of taking the tithe for God's use, Jacob counting upwards from Benjamin, and thus reckoning Levi as the tenth; Jacob's wrath at the deception practised on him in the matter of Leah, and his angry speech to Laban, "Take thy daughter and let me be gone, for thou hast dealt ill with me;" Joseph's observation of his brethren's return to better feeling before he made himself known to

them; the war between the kings of Canaan and Egypt, which was the reason of Joseph's interment in the Holy Land being postponed till the Exodus. We have also an intercalation between verses 1 and 2 of Gen. xlv., showing how Jacob, fearing to go down into Egypt, waited patiently for a vision, and on the seventh day of the third month celebrated the feast of harvest; and a long addition between verses 27 and 28 of Gen. xxxv., containing Rebecca's advice to Jacob and her exacting an oath from Esau not to injure his brother, and many other particulars, including Leah's death and burial. Here may be mentioned Jacob's war with the Amorite kings, which is also recorded in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Testam. Jud.). The identification of some of the names of the cities of these kings is very difficult. The first is Thapha (Tapho, *Lat.*), which is probably Tappuah (Josh. xii. 17); the second Aresa (Arco, *Lat.*); the third, Saragan, cannot be identified; the fourth, Selo (Silo, *Lat.*), is doubtless Shiloh; and the fifth, Gaiz (Gaas, *Lat.*), is the Gaash of Judg. ii. 9. The Amorites combined against Jacob, to rob him of his cattle and to destroy him and his family; and the patriarch, with his three sons Levi, Judah, and Joseph, went out against them, slew the five kings, and made the people tributary. So again the account of Enoch is much enlarged, and gives evident proof of reference to the Book of Enoch, so called. "He was the first of men who taught learning and wisdom; he wrote in a book the signs of heaven according to the order of the months; he bare testimony to the generations of men, showed them the weeks of the jubilees, and the days of the years, and the sabbatical year. In his visions he saw the past and the future, how it should happen to the sons of men until the day of judgment, and wrote it all in a book. After the birth of Methuselah he was for six years with the angels, who instructed him in heavenly and earthly lore, which he transcribed at their dictation. He bore testimony against the angels who had

sinned with the daughters of men. And for his reward he was taken away from among the sons of men, and carried by angels into the garden of Eden, where he learned the judgment and the eternal punishment of sinners, and wrote it all in a book." This is indeed a fairly complete account of the contents of the Book of Enoch as known to us. Sometimes the speeches of the actors in the biblical drama are altered and lengthened. Thus Gen. xliv. 9 becomes: "He shall die, and we with our asses will become servants of thy lord;" ver. 10: "Not so; the man with whom I find it I will take as servant; but ye, go home in peace;" ver. 15 (in order to eliminate the idea of divination): "Know ye not that such a man as I, who drink from this cup, dearly loves his cup?" and ver. 20, instead of "his brother is dead," "one is gone and was lost, so that we have never found him again."

Under the same category come the names of the wives of the patriarchs from Adam to Terah, and those of the sons of Jacob; the number of Adam's sons, who seem to have been twelve in all; the four sacred spots in the earth, Eden, the mountain of the East (probably Lubar),¹ Sinai, and Zion; the inscription found by Canaan, son of Arphaxad, containing astronomical lore taught to the forefathers by the angels (ch. viii.);² the division of the earth by lot among the sons of Noah; the mention of the forty-three years consumed in the building of the Tower, with the avowed intention of thereby ascending to heaven (ch. x.); the beginning of war and the practice of slavery among the sons of Noah; the introduction of idolatry by Ur, who built a town which he called after his father Kesed (ch. xi.);³ Jacob's yearly presents to his father and mother after his return from Meso-

¹ See the identity of this mountain discussed by Rönach, p. 504 ff. If this mountain be the peak of Ararat, then the four holy places correspond respectively to Adam, Noah, Moses, and David.

² Comp. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 2. 3.

³ Here doubtless is an attempt at accounting for the name "Ur of the Chaldees," Gen. xi. 28.

potamia; the assertion that Zabulon and Dina were twins, that Zilpah and Bilhah were sisters (ch. xxviii.); the dream of Levi about his future priesthood (ch. xxxii.); the death of Bilhah and Dinah for grief at the loss of Joseph (ch. xxxiv.); the war which, at the instigation of his sons, Esau makes with Jacob after Isaac's death, and wherein he himself falls by his brother's hand, and his forces are defeated and slain (ch. xxxvii., xxxviii.); the failure in the annual rise of the Nile, which was the cause of the famine in Egypt; the hostilities between the Egyptians and the Canaanites, during which the remains of the other sons of Jacob, except Joseph, were taken into Canaan and buried in the cave of Machpelah on Mount Hebron;¹ the lingering of some of the Jews in Canaan after this business of sepulture, and among them, Amram, who returned to Egypt shortly before Moses' birth (ch. xlv., xlvii.); the name of Pharaoh's daughter, Tharmuth (*Lat.* Termot); the order for the drowning of the Israelites' children executed for seven months only; Moses' instruction for twenty-one years by his father Amram, and his residence at Pharaoh's court for the same period; the binding of the evil spirit from the fourteenth to the eighteenth day, to give the Israelites time to escape from Egypt (ch. xlviii.).

We have mentioned the introduction of the names of persons who are not specially designated in Scripture. Names are also fixed to places, rivers, etc., which are elsewhere not defined, or are called differently. Thus Shem's possession extends from the mountain Rafu (Rhiphæi M.), where the river Tona (Tanais) flows, to the sea Miot (*Pal.* Mæotis) and Karaso (Chersonese). Adam's second place of abode is the land Eldad. Ham claims territory up to the fiery mountains, and westerly unto the sea Atil (Atlantic) and "the end at

¹ In Acts vii. 16, St. Stephen says the patriarchs were buried at Sychem, and Jerome affirms (*Ep.* 86) that their sepulchres were shown there in his day. Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 8. 2, agrees with our Book; but in *Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 7 introduces the same story with *Λιγύων*. Perhaps some jealous feeling against Samaria may have led to the alteration of the locality in popular tradition.

Gadith" (Gades). To Japhet appertains the district of Lag (Liguria), the mountain of Kilt (Kelts), the country to the west of Para (?), opposite to Apherag (Africa); and to his son Ijoajon (Javar), the land Adlud (Italy) and the neighbouring islands. Then Jacob after his return dwells at Akrahit; Rachel bears her son Benjamin in Kebrathan (Gen. xxxv. 16, Sept). The Amorites build two towns, Robel and Thamunthares; the king of Canaan pursues the Egyptians up to the walls of Eromon (Heroopolis).

The legendary lore connected with Abraham is a study in itself. Many of the following Saga are found in the Targum and elsewhere; but the labour of identifying them or tracing them to their sources is, for Bible students, more curious than profitable. The child Abram was, from very early years, filled with loathing for the vices of those among whom he lived. When only fourteen, he separated himself from his father, refusing to worship his idols, and praying to the great Creator to save him from being led astray by the evil practices of his countrymen. At his command the ravens refrained from devouring the seed that was sown in the fields; more than this, he invented a kind of drill, which was attached to the plough, and covered up the seeds as they were sown. As he grew older, he spoke seriously to his father about the folly and wickedness of worshipping idols; and Terah assented to his words, but dared not openly avow his sentiments for fear of his relations, who would slay without scruple all who opposed the prevailing religion. But when he was sixty years old, Abram could endure it no longer, and set fire to the temple by night; and Haran, his brother, perished¹ in the attempt to save the idols. Upon this, Terah and his family removed to Charran,² where they remained fourteen years. Here Abram learns the futility of astrology, shows entire dependence upon God, prays for deliverance from evil spirits who lead men's hearts astray, and is told by an angel not to

¹ Gen. xi. 28.

² This is the first call, Acts vii. 2-4; Gen. xi. 31.

return to Ur, but to leave his father's house, and to travel to Canaan. During his life he was subject to ten great trials or temptations :¹—1. The departure from his native land ; 2. The famine which occasioned his retreat to Egypt ; 3. The abduction of his wife ; 4. The war with the kings ; 5. The painful rite of circumcision ; 6. The dismissal of Ishmael ; 7. The expulsion of Hagar ; 8. The sterility of Sarah ; 9. The offering of Isaac ; 10. The death and burial of Sarah. It is said that while the descendants of Noah down to Abraham's time violated the command not to eat blood, Abraham strictly observed it, and taught it to his posterity.

Variations from the received ritual observed in the celebration of festivals sometimes occur in our book. In the case of the Feast of Tabernacles, no mention is made of the custom of drawing water from the pool of Siloam, and pouring it out solemnly at the altar, to which our Lord is supposed to allude in John vii. 37, 38. The omission may possibly be intended to befriend the Sadducees, who made the practice a subject of contention with the Pharisees, urging that it was never formally ordained by Moses, and therefore ought not to be observed.² Not, be it remarked, that the author was a Sadducee, but he may have wished to write in a conciliatory spirit, and not unnecessarily to obtrude points of difference. Other omissions are the injunction of fasting on the Day of Atonement, the exclusion of the uncircumcised from the Passover, and the appointment of Pentecost about the middle of the third month without specially naming the day. The time for the observance of the Passover is thus ordained : "The children of Israel shall keep the Passover on its appointed day, the fourteenth day of the first month, between evenings, in the third part of the day unto the third part of the night ; for two parts of the day are given to the light, and the third

¹ These are variously given in rabbinical tradition. See Rösensch, p. 382 ff. Only the tenth is actually numbered in "Jubilees."

² See the authorities, *ap.* Rösensch, p. 514.

to night. This is that which the Lord hath commanded, that thou shouldst do it between evenings. And it shall not be done (sacrificed) in the morning, at any hour of the light, but in the confines of the evening. And ye shall eat it in the evening unto the third part of the night, and what remains after the third part of the night shall be burned with fire." The author divides the day and the night into three parts each; his "evening" consists of the third part of the day and the two first parts of the night, his "morning" of the last part of the night and the two first parts of the day. The whole ceremony connected with the lamb must take place within the limits of the "evening" thus defined; it must be killed in the last third of the day, and eaten within the two first parts of the night, or, as he puts it, "unto the third part of the night," *i.e.* exclusive.¹ This interpretation of the phrase, "between the two evenings," Ex. xii. 6, and the other directions, express the practice which obtained in the writer's time, and offer a possible solution of what has always been a subject of dispute.

W. J. DEANE.

¹ Krüger, *Die Chronol. im B. d. Jub.* p. 298.

OUR LORD'S GROANING IN SPIRIT.

"Jesus groaned in the spirit, and was troubled."—JOHN xi. 33.

"HE groaned in the spirit, and was troubled." What is the meaning of this clause, descriptive of our Lord's emotion? What aspects of His person and work does it set before us? What light does it throw upon this miracle,—the raising of Lazarus? And what bearing has it on some questions connected with the problem of the fourth Gospel? It is proposed in this discussion to answer these inquiries.

In perusing this chapter, we are brought step by step to that part of it in which the psychological interest chiefly centres. The secret thoughts of the disciples—of the sisters—of the Jews—are gradually disclosed to us, as we read how they were severally affected by the death of Lazarus. And now, in this 33rd verse, we have a passing view of the very heart of our Lord Himself,—we have partially revealed to us the mysterious depths of the soul of Him who, while wearing our full humanity, is yet one with the everlasting Father—the only-begotten Son of God. Here, then, in this verse, more even than in the words which describe the miracle itself, we are right in seeking the very heart of the narrative.

At the threshold of our inquiry we meet a difficulty in the word *ἐνεβριμήσατο*. That it represents a deep and strong emotion, having its seat in our Lord's Spirit, and its manifestation in His whole bearing, admits of no doubt whatever; but it has been much disputed whether the emotion be that of sorrow or of anger, or a mingling of both. If, however, we regard the word in itself, and trace its usage, the conclusion seems inevitable that, apart from the undue pressure of exe-

getical considerations, we must accept for it no other meaning than that of anger, visibly expressed indignation—what in LXX. Lam. ii. 6 is called ἐμβριμῆμα ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ. Gumlich¹ has investigated very thoroughly the word in its philological aspects, in its cognate forms, and in its usages both in classical literature and in the Septuagint, and has placed, as we think, this conclusion beyond reasonable doubt. It is sufficient, therefore, for our purpose, to confine our present attention to the other passages in the New Testament where the word is found. These are only three in number. (a) Matt. ix. 30. The meaning there evidently is, He sternly charged them, the charge implying something of angry rebuke and threatening. As Luther's version has it, "Er bedrohte sie." (b) Mark i. 43. There the Evangelist's meaning is clearly rendered by the Latin version, "graviter interminatus cum indignatione expulit." (c) Mark xiv. 5. In that passage the expression does not, as in the other cases, refer to our Lord Himself, but to those who were with Him. It has its commentary in the corresponding accounts of the other Gospels, and as thus explained it can bear no other meaning than this, that they murmured in the excitement of anger. In accordance, therefore, with the analogy of Scripture, our Lord's groaning, in the passage under consideration, must be explained by His anger—the anger which accompanies reproof and threatening. His groaning was the visible expression of His wrath. It was, as Lampe well puts it, "indignatio" and "detestatio" in one.

Such is the view taken with almost unanimous consent by the ancient Greek expositors. It also has the support of the ablest modern criticism, especially that of the Lutheran school.

Holding fast this explanation of the word, we get rid at once of several current interpretations of our passage as simply

¹ "Die Räthsel der Erweckung Lazari," in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1862, pp. 260–267.

philologically untenable. Without classifying these and assigning them to their several authors, we may set them aside with a mere general notice. It was not, we conclude, the groaning of grief,—either sympathy in the presence of so much sorrow on the one hand, or sadness in the presence of so much unbelief on the other. Such sighs of tenderest feeling on our Lord's part, it is true, were not awanting. We cannot doubt even the real anguish of His soul—the pressure of present grief which weighed upon Him, as He saw the bitter tears of sisterly and friendly love,—the tokens of a sorrow which refused to be comforted,—and as He also recognised the unbelief and hypocrisy which lurked in the hearts of many of the Jewish comforters. But we affirm that this grief, felt by our Lord, is in no way described by the word *ἐνεβριμήσατο*. It is rather pourtrayed afterwards in other and simpler terms,—“Jesus wept.” Still further, as we are not justified in seeking in the word, as used here, any modification of its proper meaning, viz. the emotion of anger, so we are not entitled to combine any other meaning with it. For instance, De Wette holds it to be the expression of a grief that closely borders upon displeasure;—Kling, a mingling of true human sympathy and holy indignation, especially the latter, in view of the unfriendly, hostile bearing of the Jews;—Lange, a strange blending of sympathy, sorrow, anger, and even joy;—Lücke, “die tiefste Schmerzensbewegung der mitleidenden Trauer,”—adding, in order, if possible, to retain some slight tinge of the true uniform meaning of the word, that there is of necessity an element of displeasure, of anger, in all sorrow. And Ewald, in his *Geschichte, Christus und seiner Zeit* (p. 486, note), regards the word as synonymous with *στενάζειν* or *ἀναστενάζειν*, though perhaps somewhat stronger, as these are used in similar circumstances in Mark vii. 34, and viii. 12. Our Lord's groaning in spirit would thus be His gathering up all the deepest feelings of His love and sympathy,—His “strong crying and tears” as He went

forward to His work of power. All these views, more or less differing from one another, are to be set aside. They owe their common origin to the supposed necessity of the context. They would never have arisen otherwise, and they all alike do violence to the meaning of the word ἐμβριμᾶσθαι. That word must be understood here to predicate, of the Son of man, the one and simple feeling of displeasure—wrath.

But there is a further trait in the Evangelist's description of our Lord's emotion,—τῷ πνεύματι. The dative certainly does not imply either that it was His own spirit which the Saviour, in holy anger with Himself, sought to control, or that it was under the influence, or by the guidance, of the Holy Spirit He was thus vehemently moved. The corresponding expression in verse 38, where the same violent agitation is again mentioned, but with the addition ἐν ἑαυτῷ, renders both these expositions in the highest degree improbable. Besides, there come to our aid such exact parallels as Mark viii. 12, "He sighed deeply in His spirit" (τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ); Luke x. 21, "Jesus rejoiced in spirit;" John xiii. 21, "He was troubled in spirit;" Acts xvii. 16, of Paul, "His spirit was stirred within him" (τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ); Acts xiii. 5, "Paul was pressed in spirit;" and Luke i. 47, though with a different construction, "My spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." All these passages clearly show us how we are to render and understand the words here. The dative undoubtedly indicates the sphere in which what is predicated in the verb took place. "He groaned in the spirit;" i.e. in His own spirit. His emotion was no superficial one. It was "pectore ab imo;" it was in His πνεῦμα, "der Boden alles ethisch tiefen Empfindens" (Delitzsch, *Bib. Psych.* p. 186); "In der Tiefe seines sittlich selbstbewussten Empfindens" (Meyer).

We might err were we here to lay much stress upon the recognised distinction between πνεῦμα and ψυχή. The fourth Gospel, there is reason to believe, is a refutation, in one of its

aims at least, of that Cerinthian Gnosis which taught an unscriptural separation of the Æon Christ from Jesus,—the divine Logos from the man Christ Jesus. It therefore depicts throughout, our Lord, in the unbroken oneness of His personality—in the mutual penetration of the divine and human in Him, as far as His personal moral consciousness is concerned. Hence the Evangelist seems almost to use *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή*, as referring to the Saviour, interchangeably. We find *e.g.* *ψυχή* in xii. 27 (compare Matt. xxvi. 38 ; Mark xiv. 34), “Now is My soul troubled.” Yet it is decidedly too much to say with Meyer that *ψυχή* might have been used in our passage, only that *πνεῦμα* is more characteristic. Here rather it is the *πνεῦμα*, the “vis superior, agens, imperans in homine,”—the spirit of the divine Son of Man, in the glory of His power, troubled with a holy anger in the presence of death and him who has the power of it. In xii. 27, on the other hand, it is the *ψυχή*, the “vis inferior quæ agitur, movetur, in imperio tenetur,”—the seat of natural human sensibility, the soul of the Man of sorrows, in the weakness of His humiliation, troubled in the near approach of His passion.¹

But there is another clause still in our passage, which claims consideration, viz.,—“And was troubled.” While the words “in the spirit,” or, as in verse 38, “in Himself,” pourtray an inner agitation, they do not necessarily imply that there was no outward manifestation accompanying it. Both Lücke and Luthardt hold they do, the latter appearing strangely to assert that whenever anger assumes an outward expression, it has obviously escaped beyond personal control, and so far partakes of imperfection and sin. These commentators understand even *καὶ ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτὸν* of a purely inner feeling. Lücke, indeed, sees in the clause simply a more general statement of what has been already said, and

¹ On *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή* in their relation to each other and to the Logos, *vid.* Weiss, *Der Joanneische Lehrbegriff*, p. 256.

supposes that τῷ σώματι or some similar addition would be necessary, if a visible manifestation were to be described. But surely τῷ σώματι would imply a limitation which the purposely more general ἐαυτὸν repudiates. 'Εαυτὸν may be understood of body, soul, and spirit alike,—the whole nature. It is quite true that, in so far as it refers to human agents, ταρασσειν is used in the New Testament invariably of mental emotions, of whatever kind these may be, though more readily of sorrow than of anger,¹ and does not therefore of itself suggest the idea of bodily tremor, or aught of physical excitement whatever. But here the word receives its colouring, as it were, from the preceding clause, and at the same time is explanatory of it. It seems, therefore, probable that in the troubling there does lie an allusion to the visible expression of the emotion. At all events, it lies in the very nature of things that every strong emotion within must work outwards to visible form,—assuming some corresponding movement or aspect of the body. And, indeed, as Hengstenberg observes in this case, our Lord's agitation of spirit could not otherwise have become matter of historical record at all. We can hardly doubt that the bodily frame of Jesus yielded itself readily and naturally to reveal the motions of His spirit.² His must have been a countenance on which those whose sympathetic hearts fitted them to see, could trace much of the thoughts and feelings within. This conviction has all along directed and sustained the noblest, though unfulfilled, and indeed impossible, aim of highest art, to imagine and pourtray the ideal lineaments of that face divine. His countenance, therefore, in this the indignation of His spirit, appears to have been troubled. His whole frame, perhaps, was moved. He shuddered. A storm of wrath was seen to

¹ Our own "vex" is a good instance of a word bearing both these significations. "To be vexed" means, in some parts of England, to be disquieted with anger; and, in Scotland, usually, to be disquieted with grief. A similar usage may be seen in the Hebrew נָחַשׁ.

² *Vid.* Ullmann's *Sündlosigkeit Jesu*, p. 212.

sweep over Him. The whole passage points to this conclusion. In adopting it, however, we recoil from the suggestion of Renan, that our Lord was only seeking in this way to satisfy the requirements of popular Jewish opinion, by representing the energy of the divine virtue as an epileptic and convulsive principle. That view is quite in accordance with Renan's unworthy treatment of the miracle as a whole.

The disciples,¹ Mary, the Jews who were comforting her, were witnesses of this strange, unwonted sight. And, doubtless, as they gazed, they themselves were troubled. They saw in our Lord's whole bearing a mystery which they could not comprehend. Something of this trouble lays hold also upon us. For does not this anger disturb the ideal of the Saviour enshrined in the hearts of His people? He, the patient, submissive, loving friend appearing, while all others are in tears, vehemently moved by anger! Does not such a perturbation of spirit, more especially in such circumstances, border on sin, if indeed it do not essentially partake of it? But in this respect we must not measure Him by ourselves. His anger was no passion. It was not a suffering under an impulse, as of some foreign power, asserting the mastery over Him. We, indeed, when we are controlled by anger, are in constant and sure danger of failing to control ourselves; the will abdicates its post as guide, because it becomes itself enslaved. We are lowered thus in our own estimation and in that of others, for "he that ruleth himself" is alone noble. So far, then, as there is in anger the loss of self-command, there is assuredly the element of sin. But in regard to our Lord the Horatian adage which speaks of anger as a tem-

¹ We say here "the disciples;" for the theory advocated by Stanley Leathes (*The Witness of St. John to Christ*, p. 279) that John was the only one of the disciples who witnessed this miracle, our Lord having left the others at Ephraim, has nothing to recommend it, and is by no means a satisfactory explanation of the omission of this miracle in the synoptical Gospels. The 16th verse certainly leads us, in the absence of any hint to the contrary, to suppose that not only the *ἐκλεκτοὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν*, — i.e. Peter and James and John, — but the disciples, as a whole, were witnesses of this work of power.

porary madness, or the verse of Gregory Nazianzen (*carmen de Ira*),

"*Irascor iræ, dæmoni intus condito,*"

are meaningless. We are therefore guarded by the very form of the sentence against the danger of investing *His* wrath with aught of an unworthy character. It is declared to be free from all taint of human infirmity. καὶ ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτὸν, He troubled Himself. We may adduce as an Old Testament parallel, Isa. xlii. 13, "The Lord shall go forth as a *mighty* man, He shall *stir up* jealousy like a man of war;" and a better parallel still, as far as the form of the expression is concerned, is found in Phil. ii. 8, ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν,—He humbled Himself. Just as there the voluntariness of His humiliation is clearly indicated, so here the voluntariness of His agitation of spirit. It was an act of His own free-will, not a passion hurrying Him on, but a voluntarily-assumed state of feeling which remained under His direction and control. He held the reins of it, saying, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further." In a word, there was no element of ἀραξία in it. As Cornelius a Lapide puts it, His were not passions, but "propassiones libere assumptæ." It does not seem unreasonable to find a meaning of this kind in the somewhat uncommon use of the active verb with the reflexive pronoun. Meyer, indeed, denies this, holding this construction to be without any dogmatic significance at all, and to be merely more dramatic. Hengstenberg, too, says: "Any reference to the divine nature of Christ, and His elevation above all mere passivity of physical emotions, as resting upon that divine nature, is not to be sought in the ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτὸν. The same would be said of a human hero, who roused himself to a sharp contest. If we explain the use of the active verb by reference to the divine nature of Christ, there is no reason why the same active verb was not used in xii. 27, xiii. 21." This is all true, so far; but it must not be overlooked that in these latter passages the troubling

of our Lord's soul and spirit is in the near prospect of His betrayal and passion, and is the troubling of sorrow,—grief in the apprehension of suffering. Here, on the other hand, the peculiarity to be noticed is that it is the troubling of anger—that emotion, be it remembered, which is much more likely to be allied with imperfection and sin than the emotion of grief. Hence the reflexive form of the expression has a beauty and propriety of its own here, and it serves to warn us against misapprehension. The danger of adopting any dishonouring view of our Lord's person and character from *ἐνεβριμήσατο* is carefully guarded against, not only by the addition of *τῷ πνεύματι*, but specially by this further clause—*καὶ ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτόν*. He was not troubled, but He troubled Himself; and thus in this, as in all else, He stands before us as unapproachably and divinely perfect. While the wrath of man does *not* aim at the carrying out of God's righteous purposes, but rather seeks to frustrate them,—while it fails to produce that fruit of righteousness which comes from God, and is pleasing in His sight (Jas. i. 20),—the wrath of Him who is true and full, because sinless man, *does* “work the righteousness of God.”

Our passage is well expounded by Nifanius thus: “Non turbabatur aut percellabatur ab iracundia, sed turbavit se ipsum. Licet enim omnes humanos affectus suscepisset in naturæ assumptæ veritate, sine tamen peccato aut vitio, sen defectu omnes: quare non rapitur affectibus aut extra se fertur, sed pro re nata intra se volens, eosdem extra se ostendit. In nobis affectus liberi non sunt, cum nobis nolentibus interdum surgant et deficient. Non ita Christus commotus est, sed se ipsum Christus turbavit, ut indicetur, turbationem hanc Christi non ex infirmitate, sed ex potestate esse.” And Piscator, following up a hint in Calvin's commentary, has this illustration: “Quemadmodum aqua pura ac limpida vitro puro infusa, si agitetur, spumas quidem concipit, sed turpida non fit; infusa autem vitro impuro ac

sordido, si agetur, non solum spumas concipit, sed etiam turbida sordidaque redditur: ita cor Christi ab omni vitio purum, affectibus humanæ naturæ insitis, agitatum quidem fuit, sed nullo peccato sordidatum; at corda nostra affectibus ita agitantur, ut peccato nobis inhærente sordidentur."

Our Lord then, though appearing in the incident under our consideration, "In diesem Unterworfensein unter das Gesetz der Sinnlichkeit,"¹ is yet to be regarded as free from the imperfection which, if not essentially, yet actually, subjection to that law implies in us. His was the nobility of anger, being fully and ceaselessly subject to a will which knew only the divine will as its one rule and guide.

We have thus far tried to analyze the Evangelist's words, and we have gathered up these results:—Our Lord's groaning was that of indignation—an outburst of fiery wrath. This anger arose in His spirit. It manifested itself in His bearing—perhaps in the violent trembling of His whole bodily frame. Yet it was free from all taint of imperfection, and was retained completely in His own power and control.

But before proceeding to another and more interesting part of our discussion, we may observe that there lies in this 33rd verse a very strong, because an entirely incidental argument for the authenticity and historical character of this narrative, and so of the whole fourth Gospel, of which it is acknowledged to form an integral part. This angry groaning in spirit, notwithstanding all that can be said regarding it, does appear at first sight inconsistent with the character of our Lord, as otherwise set before us, and specially inconsistent with the whole circumstances in which it is said to have been exhibited. So psychologically improbable—even incredible—does it seem, that many, as has already been shown, have recourse to

¹ De Wette, *Sittenlehre*, Th. I. p. 188. On the question of the divine anger and human anger, and whether there be in the latter a necessary element of sin, *vid.* Weber's *Vom Zorne Gottes*, pp. 21–24. And on the outward manifestation of anger, right only when in proportion to the emotion felt, *vid.* Rothe, *Ethik*, II. pp. 87–88.

various ways of escaping from the natural meaning of the word which describes it. They have tried to twist *ἐν πνεύματι* into a sense which it cannot possibly bear, in order to bring it into harmony with the supposed requirements of the context. May we not conclude, then, that this groaning in spirit on the part of our Lord would never have found its way into the description of this miracle at all, unless it had actually happened? It would not have occurred to any one who was drawing merely upon his imagination, or was seeking to clothe in the garb of allegory some doctrinal truth. Considered from this point of view, it is unnatural—unlikely in the extreme. It is therefore to be accounted for only on the supposition that the writer had been an eye-witness, and that he faithfully and accurately recorded what was fact, however inexplicable to his readers that fact at first sight might seem. This much may be said, in passing, against the view of one of the ablest of recent writers on the Life of Christ—Dr. Keim. That author goes so far as to say that there can no longer be any doubt as to the unhistorical character of this narrative, and, in opposition to almost universal opinion, declares it to be an over-refined and stilted story, with a Christology unnaturally twisted and confused.¹ We hold the very opposite conclusion to be borne out by the facts of the case.

We now proceed to inquire into the reason why our Lord "groaned in the spirit and was troubled." We have made, as it were, our observations—we have ascertained and noted the facts; we have now to search out the causes which underlie them. The narrative helps us in this inquiry, but only indirectly. It tells us the occasion, but nothing more. It

¹ Keim's *Geschichte Jesu*, vol. iii. pp. 70-71. "In der That, eine verunstaltete, auf Stelzen gehende Geschichte und eine unnatürlich geschränkte, Mensch und Gott verwechselnde Christologie." Sanday (*Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 180-190), though not alluding to the point above mentioned, has some good observations on the unconscious individual touches of nature and truth which this chapter displays.

does not expressly state the cause. It is plainly said, "When Jesus therefore saw her weeping, and the Jews also weeping which came with her, He groaned in the spirit, and was troubled." The place where He was had been transformed into a very Bochim (Judg. ii. 5), for "the people lifted up their voice, and wept." On their part, it was loud weeping—wailing; they mourned with all the external expression of grief (*κλαίοντας*). Jesus Himself, on the other hand, wept with the gentle, silent flow of tears (v. 35, *ἐδάκρυεν*). The time, too, was that solemn, sacred hour, when many hearts, widely apart in their general sympathies, are yet by a common sorrow made one, thus realizing the ancient definition of friendship,—one heart in many bodies. Such was the occasion of our Lord's angry commotion of spirit. But it was in no sense the cause. True, His fellow-feeling was deep and strong. His tears were tears of tenderest sympathy. In the sinlessness of His complete humanity, He could enter more fully into others' sorrow, than any of His people ever can. He Himself, "the very fountain of pity," could not but "weep with them that weep." But we find in all this no explanation of His wrath. The prominence given by the Evangelist to His *grief*, so far from explaining, only makes His *anger* the more inexplicable.

In seeking, then, to assign an adequate cause to this unusual manifestation, we may set aside several views as at once failing to appeal to our judgment. De Wette, *e.g.*, entirely misses the mark, when he says that Christ's agitation of spirit arose chiefly from feeling that the death of Lazarus, and all its accompanying sorrows, could not have been avoided. Nor, again, can we accept the kindred view so touchingly stated and enforced by Cyprian, in an epistle to the Presbyter Tyriasius, of condolence with him on the loss of a much-beloved daughter,—the view that our Lord was mournfully filled with emotion, because, for the sake of others, He had to restore his friend to earth's struggles

and toils. Nor are those Greek commentators and their modern representatives right, who hold that His emotion was a kind of anger with Himself,—a struggle to repress the rising of His own feelings, as, if not unworthy of Him, at least interfering with what He had to do;—an effort, in other words, which He made to check His tears, so that He might be able to speak the words, “Where have ye laid him?” Alford, *eg.*, says, “What minister has not, when burying the dead in the midst of a weeping family, felt the emotion, and made the effort, here described? And surely this was one of the things in which He was made like unto His brethren”! But this view is based, although Alford himself disclaims it, upon what we have already seen to be a wrong rendering of the passage, a making τῷ πνεύματι the dative governed by the verb, whereas that dative describes the nature of the anger, not in any way the object of it. The same remark applies substantially to Steinmeyer, who speaks of our Lord’s emotion as “eine gegen die Regungen seiner eigenen Psyche gerichteten pneumatischen Thätigkeit des Herrn.”² Besides, it is to be noticed that no reference is

¹ *Vid.* Cyprian, Hartel’s edition, 1871, vol. iii. p. 276. The argument, though it proceeds on a misunderstanding of *ἐνθυμήσας*, is so beautifully stated, that its quotation may be allowed here:—“Plane mortuum Lazarum flevit, sed non tuis lacrymis. Resurrectionis promissor dolorem docere non poterat, ne fidem perfidiam faceret quam docebat. Doluit Lazarum non dormientem, sed potius resurgentem, et flebat quem cogeatur propter salvandos alios et confundendos incredulos sæculo revocare. Hanc vitam dans Dominus ingemiscebat, quam tu doles esse sublatam. Contra lacrymas ejus pugnant lacrymæ tuæ, et amor tuus amoris ejus. Ejus fletus non habet parem. Ille nolebat reddere laboribus quem dilexerat, et tu amare te credis cui laborum volebas adhuc restare tormenta. Ceterum si putes eum mortuum Lazarum doluisse, ante non permisisset exire qui repellere poterat mortem, aut certe non fletet qui mortuum resuscitare postmodum habuerat potestatem. Unde apparet sola eum causa fuisse commotum quod ad hostilem vitam carissimum suum revocare denuo propter credituros aliquos vel confundendos incredulos urgebatur. Denique sic subsecutus est dicens: ‘ergo, pater, ut credant quoniam tu me misisti.’ Gaude ergo unde ille coactus est flere, ne videaris dormientium felicitatibus invidere. Ab alieno mundo ad proprium transivit, transivit, ad Dominum et de hostili patria ad paternam patriam migravit.”

² Steinmeyer’s *Wunderthaten des Herrn*, p. 196; though there the author is discussing another miracle.

made to any emotion preceding this groaning in spirit, which needed to be restrained; and still further, if a struggle with self be what is mentioned, then it was an unsuccessful struggle, for we are told immediately afterwards that "Jesus wept." This view, too, however reverently held and carefully guarded, verges upon an unworthy conception of our Lord; and it fails entirely to satisfy what is required by so very strong a word as *ἐρεβριμῆσατο*.

If, then, the cause of our Lord's vehement anger is not to be found at all in Himself, is it to be sought in those who were around Him—in the sisters, the disciples, the Jews—in any or all of them? May it not be said that although His groaning in spirit was not itself mourning, it may have been caused by the mourning of others? Was He angry at all at this weeping of theirs, regarding it as excessive, and reproving it as blameworthy? No. On a similar occasion, it is true (if indeed the occasion be similar),—in Jairus' house, He said, "Why make ye this ado and weep?" But the justification of the rebuke there, lies on the very surface of the narrative. It was called for by "the tumult" (Mark v. 38)—the noisy obsequies already commenced, and by the apparent levity even of "them that wept and wailed greatly," for "they laughed Him to scorn." But here the circumstances are of a totally different kind. Besides, granting that in this case the general expression of grief was inordinate, and needed some reproof, so strong an outgoing of indignation on our Lord's part, as the verb indicates, is inconceivable. It was foretold of Him, "A bruised reed shall He not break, and smoking flax shall He not quench." We cannot therefore think of Him here as meeting the bitterness of their anguish by the exceeding sharpness of His reproof. On the contrary, so far from chiding their tears, He willingly mingled with them His own.

But, again, it has been held that our Lord's anger was directed against the formal, false mourning of the Jews—their tears of so-called sympathy contrasting with the hard-

ness of their hearts—their spurious sorrow in the presence of so much that was genuine. But whatever the feelings of these men were towards Him, we do them wrong, if we deny them the credit of sincerity in their friendship for Lazarus, and their sorrow at his death. Theirs were not what Meyer calls them,—crocodile tears.

Once more, the view has received very large support,¹ that our Lord was sore displeased at the evidences of unbelief and the misconception of His person and power which everywhere disclosed themselves. He saw prevailing a state of feeling which threatened to make the very working of the miracle an impossibility. The disciples, especially Thomas, Martha, and even Mary, she

“Whose eyes were homes of silent prayer,”

and some of the better disposed Jews,—their faith all quenched in their tears! Must not Jesus have been moved with a holy indignation in the presence of this almost invincible power of unbelief, exemplified as it was here even in His most faithful followers? Was not faith (v. 40) the very condition under which alone the manifestation of the Father's glory in the Son's work of power could take place? And now it appeared that, after all His works and all His words seen and heard for these three years, that faith was awanting—He was not recognised and welcomed as “the Resurrection and the Life” (v. 25). Instead of waiting with expectant hearts, even His own followers were weeping as those who had no hope, and so were actually themselves standing in the way of His bringing them help, the very help which they needed but dared not ask. But this view, as well as those already alluded to, must be surrendered. There is no distinct reference whatever in the immediate context to so great hard-

¹ From such opposite poles of doctrine as are represented by Strauss and Bishop Wordsworth, and many others. It is also the view of Keim. It seems best stated and urged by Wichelhaus, *Leidensgeschichte*, pp. 66, 67.

ness of heart; and after all, the tenor of the narrative does not justify, at least so far as the sisters and the disciples are concerned, so harsh an estimate of their character and conduct.

We conclude, then, that we have not yet caught sight of the true explanation. We have not yet discovered the adequate and satisfactory cause of our Lord's angry agitation of spirit. This wrath, so exceptionally striking, could not have for its object Himself, for though He "endured contradiction of sinners *against* Himself" (Heb. xii. 3), He knew no such contradiction *within* Himself. In all the fulness and consequent perfection of His humanity He could not be in any sense what each one of His followers is, an *ἀνὴρ δίψυχος* (compare Jas. i. 8 and iv. 8). Nor could the object of this holy anger be the weak, sorrowing, or even unbelieving men and women before Him; not, assuredly, His own impotence—not the excessive sorrow or the hypocrisy and unbelief of others. The divine anger of the Son of Man, on so critical a moment of His life as this, demands another and very different object. That object must be sought in some mighty hostile power, which was now with peculiar violence and malignity rising up against Him.

JOHN HUTCHISON.

CHRIST'S DEFENCE OF HIS PARABOLIC TEACHING.

MATT. XIII. 10-13; MARK IV. 10-12; LUKE VIII. 9-10.

"WHY speakest thou unto them in parables?" is a question which has been repeated by many expositors since the days of the first disciples. The ordinary reader is disposed to wonder that either to the disciple or to the expositor it should ever have been a question at all; the system of parable seems to him that form of education which, of all others, is best suited to initiate the development of the soul. To the popular mind it would seem as natural that the children of the first Christian century should be taught by parables, as that the children of the nineteenth should be taught by the *Pilgrim's Progress*. But that is because the popular mind *is* popular, unable to transcend its present environment. The very thing which makes the *Pilgrim's Progress* easy is the element which is absent from the minds of those who were first taught by parables. The *Pilgrim's Progress* is an illustration of ideas already in the air; the parable was a preparation for ideas which were yet to be in the air. The difference is manifest. The *Pilgrim's Progress* is not really a teaching of Christian doctrine; it is a clothing of Christian doctrine elsewhere taught, or, as the New Testament would call it, a "mystery made manifest;" before it can have any meaning, the mystery or hidden truth must already be latent in the soul. But the primitive Christian parable was in the strictest sense of the word an awakening. It was not a clothing in visible form of ideas already latent in the mind; it was a presentation to the eye of a visible form which might possibly suggest an idea. It was not the embodiment of an already

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existing tendency; it was the suggestion of a new image which might possibly startle men out of an old tendency; it had therefore difficulties to encounter precisely in that sphere where the modern Christian allegory has found the secret of its easy acceptance.

It will not surprise us, then, that the parable is represented in the New Testament under two seemingly contrary aspects. It is sometimes described as a help, at others as a veil; sometimes as a step in educational development, at others as a barrier to full development. There are many things which at one and the same moment are both a help and a veil. The process of teaching the deaf mute by visible signs is at once a help and a veil; it is a help in so far as it presents an analogy to the normal mode of communication, it is a veil in so far as it never transcends the sphere of analogy, and conceals more than it reveals. No one would say that the system of teaching deaf mutes by visible signs is less benevolent because it conceals more than it reveals; we feel that the design of the system is helpfulness, and that the veil is only a necessity. The difficulty, therefore, which the modern expositor experiences in answering the question of the first disciples, does not lie in the fact that in St. Matthew the parable is represented as a help and in St. Mark and St. Luke as a veil; it lies in something altogether different. In the case of the deaf mute the design is at once recognised to be helpfulness, and the veil to be only a necessity. But in the account given by St. Mark and St. Luke of the inauguration of the Christian parable, it would seem to be indicated that the veil is the thing specially designed. It would appear to be grammatically implied that the parable was instituted by our Lord with the express view of hiding the truth from those to whom it was spoken. We say *grammatically*. No commentator in the world, whatever his school of thought might be, would for a moment accept in this instance the assumed grammatical sense as the real interpretation; to do

so would be to falsify the very idea of Christianity. None the less it is generally assumed that so far as the language of the New Testament is concerned, and so far as the mere law of grammar extends, the parable is represented as a veil placed by the Divine Master over the eyes of those who stood outside the kingdom; and we are told that it is only by a moral necessity that we are forced to explain away the literal sense of the saying: "That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them."

How, then, is this grammatical sense to be explained away? Shall we say that the Evangelists Mark and Luke mistook the meaning of our Lord's words, wherein in St. Matthew's Gospel He had declared His true purpose in speaking to men by parables? The simple answer to such a supposition is that it was morally impossible for such a mistake to be made. The doctrine that Christ spoke in parables lest men should be converted, is not merely contrary to the historical fact, it is contrary to the Christian ideal, nay, it is at variance even with the Messianic expectation of Judaism, which uniformly looked for an extension of her boundaries large enough to include all nations. Or shall we say that there is an educational advantage in throwing a preliminary veil over the eyes of a learner, that the presentation of a riddle to the young mind is fitted to stimulate its intellectual faculties, and calculated to foster its subsequent search for truth? This has been a favourite explanation amongst expositors. We must confess that to us it explains nothing. It is true that the presentation of a riddle to the young mind sharpens its intellectual faculties, but to sharpen the intellectual faculties was not the distinctive design of Christ's coming into the world. The design of His coming was to stimulate in the first instance not the intellectual but the moral nature. He came not to perplex the minds of men by riddles, but by realities.

His design was to awaken them into a sense of their own moral need, to create within them a feeling of their labour and their heavy-ladenness, to inspire them with the necessity for a rest which the world could not yield. Shall we say yet once again that by His Divine foreknowledge He knew that His parables *would* prove a veil, and therefore spoke of them as if they were meant to be a veil? Why then propose parables at all? If men are hopelessly blind, it is mere waste of time and labour to bring them into a dark room in order to prove that they cannot see. All these attempts to explain the literal sense figuratively have to our mind only ended in transparent and signal failure.

Now it seems to us that the reason of the failure lies in the wrong direction in which light on this subject is commonly sought. We believe that instead of attempting to explain away the literal sense, it is in the literal sense itself that the key to the mystery will be found; in other words, we cannot accept the doctrine that the grammatical meaning of the passages in St. Mark and St. Luke is what it is commonly supposed to be. In exhibiting our view of this subject, we propose to begin with the passage in St. Matthew's Gospel, which is confessedly the least difficult of the three, and which is probably the root of the other two. It is generally admitted that if the passage in St. Matthew had stood alone, the impression would have been distinctly conveyed that Christ meant the parable to be a help to men. It is averred, however, that the grammatical sense of Mark and Luke being contrary, and the passage in Matthew being also susceptible of a meaning in harmony with these, the first Gospel ought to be interpreted in the light of the second and the third. We hope to show, on the other hand, that the second and third Gospels can easily be interpreted in the light of the first without changing their grammatical or altering their primary sense, and that, therefore, the three Evangelists are harmonious in declaring that so far as Christ's part of the

work was concerned the design of the parable was to help mankind.

In St. Matthew xiii. 10, the disciples come to Christ, and say, "Why speakest Thou unto them in parables?" Their motive, in our opinion, was not solicitude for a clear understanding on the part of the multitude, but a sense that their own dignity and the dignity of their Leader would be imperilled by a mode of teaching which seemed to reveal nothing. It was not that they held the truth taught in Christ's parable to be unintelligible; they had no difficulty in understanding it, and they had no fear that the multitude would have any such difficulty. Their objection to the truth taught in the parable was not that it was unintelligible, but that it was irrelevant. It was in itself perfectly visible, but it veiled other things, and precisely those things which in the view of the disciples were the only truths worthy to be revealed—"the mysteries of the kingdom." It directed the minds of the multitude to facts which were plain, prosaic, and verifiable by everyday experience, and in the very act of doing so it withdrew their attention from those great transcendental facts which were as yet unverifiable by human experience, and immeasurable by human calculation. The objection, in short, which the disciples made to the parable, was precisely the objection which they made to Christ's recognition of the little child, and they made it for precisely the same reason. The child had in their view nothing to do with "the mysteries of the kingdom." It suggested a state of mind which did not appear to them to have any bearing upon the coming Messianic glory. It was itself a parable of the spirit of humility, and they never dreamed of denying that the parable was clear. What they did deny was that it was relevant, that it had anything to do with the revelation of that great mystery—the completion of that Divine advent which was to usher in the Messianic reign. It was this sense of disproportion between their view

of what Christ ought to teach and their observation of what He actually taught, that led them to ask in genuine wonder: "Why speakest Thou unto them in parables."

Christ's answer is striking and suggestive. He declares in effect that the true dignity of a revelation consists in its power to adapt itself to the capacities of those to whom it is revealed: "It has been given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given." He tells them that they are in the meantime in advance of the multitude, are possessed of a religious faculty which the multitude have not. He says that on this account the multitude are not yet ready for the ultimate revelation, and that therefore they are all the more in need of a revelation which is not ultimate. The disciples can afford to wait, because when a religious faculty once exists, it becomes self-active and accumulates fresh truth everywhere: "Whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance." But where a religious faculty does not exist, even existing secular faculties are apt to lose their power: "Whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath." Accordingly, some form of revelation must be given in order that the whole man may not perish. Yet it must not be a perfect revelation; its perfection would in this case be its imperfection. It must be a revelation which shall come down to the level of the multitude, which shall be content to represent less than the reality, which shall adapt itself to the veil through which alone it can be seen. "I speak to them in parables: because they seeing, see not; and hearing, they hear not; neither do they understand,"—that is to say, because up to this time the parable or material symbol has been in point of fact the only mode of tuition open to them. They have not as yet been able to penetrate beyond the veil of materialism, nor to read the significance of that which the veil of materialism symbolizes. The sight of the image has been to them the substitute for that which it typifies, the sound

of the voice has been to them in the room of the message it reveals ; their seeing has not been perception, their hearing has not been understanding. I speak to them in parables, because in parables they have all along been taught.

Let us now turn to the passage in Mark iv. 11-12, with which the sense of that in Luke is at one. For the sake of clearness we shall quote it in full. It is assumed, though not directly stated, that the disciples have put to the Master the same question recorded in St. Matthew ; to this He answers : " Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God : but unto them that are without, all these things are done in parables : That seeing they may see, and not perceive ; and hearing they may hear, and not understand ; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them." The crucial point here relates to the position of the words : " Unto them that are without, all these things are done in parables." They are commonly thought to represent the thing to be accounted for, the problem which requires to be explained. To us, on the other hand, it is perfectly clear that they are themselves meant to be the *reason* of the thing to be accounted for, the solution of the problem to be explained. What Christ really says is this : " I speak to them that are without, in parables, because to them that are without all things *are* in parables, because, unlike the children of the kingdom, they are unable to see anything that transcends the visible, and can only be communicated with through the veil of temporal things." The very form of the expression, " all things are done in parables," shows that Christ is not here speaking of *His* parables, but of that general mode of parabolic teaching which in various forms and divers manners had eaten out the spiritual life of the Jewish nation. He felt that this nation had yielded itself to what Paul calls " the god of this world "—the personified principle of materialism (2 Cor. iv. 3, 4). He felt that in having so yielded itself it had increasingly incapacitated itself for the reception of

spiritual truth. In the language of a true and spiritual parable He Himself described the principle of materialism as a great personified force plotting against the destiny of the theocratic nation. He invested it in a figure with the design of its own action. He beheld it striving after the imprisonment of the human soul within the fetters of a narrow formalism and the shackles of a barren literalism. He saw it limiting the range and curtailing the possibilities of human aspiration by an increasing subjection of the mind to the trammels of sense—to rites and ceremonies, to material sacrifices, to cabalistic interpretations, to mint and anise and cummin, to the breadth of the phylactery and the enlargement of the hem of the garment. He beheld what St. Paul beheld when he declared that if the gospel were veiled it was veiled only to those whose minds had been blinded by the god of this world,—what the writer to the Hebrews beheld when he affirmed that the whole ritual of Jewish worship was “a parable for the time then present, according to which were offered both gifts and sacrifices, that could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience.” The refusal to look beyond the seen and temporal had been followed by its inevitable penal consequence—the *inability* to look beyond, and the nation which had refused to believe more than it could see or hear became incapable of believing what was actually contained in its sight.

Now, the question was, In what way was the new religion to influence the old? how was a faith essentially spiritual to find contact with a belief which had woven itself round the seen and temporal? There was clearly only one way. If the new religion would find a meeting-place with the old, it must condescend to use the symbols of the old. Its strength must lie not in throwing aside the old symbols, but in showing that these symbols had all along contained a deeper meaning than they had been ever thought to hold. Accordingly Christianity presented to the institutions of Judaism a series of counter-

institutions, sufficiently like not to repel and sufficiently different to reveal something new. It put its new wine into new bottles, but it took care to make the new bottles of a similar shape to the old ones. If Judaism had its sacrifices to be repeated year by year, Christianity had also its sacrifice which was to be perpetuated from day to day. If Judaism had its passover to commemorate the deliverance from Egypt, Christianity had its communion-feast, to commemorate the deliverance from a deeper bondage. If Judaism had its college of priests to make intercession for the sins of the people, Christianity had its universal priesthood to offer up spiritual gifts. If Judaism had its theocratic kingdom which it expected to rule the world, Christianity had its visible church which it foretold to be the nucleus of a kingdom whose dominion would extend from sea to sea. Finally, if Judaism had its parables or material symbols through which it sought to communicate to the people what stood to it in the place of Divine truth, Christianity must also have its parables to communicate to the people that truth which was indeed Divine. The parables of Christ—and in the term we include His miracles also—were to early Christianity what the symbolism of the temple worship had been to Judaism. They were not themselves an ultimate revelation, but they were designed to prepare for such a revelation. The Christian parable was the antithesis of the Christian mystery. The parable was a manifestation whose inward truth was not yet clearly obvious; the mystery was an inward truth whose outward manifestation was not yet visible. To the man who was in the stage of parables the mystery was not yet clear; to the man who was in the stage of mysteries the parable appeared as a veil. In the course of revelation it is ever so; the helps of our childhood become the hindrances of our manhood. If the deaf mute received his hearing, he would ere long come to regard as a veil that mode of symbolic revelation which had once been his only source of knowledge. When that which is

perfect is come, that which is in part is not only done away but is transformed into a hindrance; when the mystery is revealed the parable becomes a veil. None the less ought we to remember that the hindrances of to-day were the helps of yesterday. The true parable is not the mystery, yet it is the door into the mystery. The symbolism whereby Christ instructed the incipient mind, unlike the symbolism of the later Jewish temple, was and was meant to be a glimpse into something beyond it. It was a veil, but it revealed itself to be a veil, and to know that one looks upon a veil is already to be conscious of a world behind it. Christ's parables were not irrelevant though His followers deemed them so. The parable of the Sower, the parable of the Leaven, the parable of the Mustard Seed, the parable of the Prodigal Son, contained already the germ of greater "mysteries of the kingdom" than the disciples of that primitive age had with all their vaunted superiority either perceived in fact or dreamed of in their philosophy.

GEORGE MATHESON.

THE ELDER BROTHER OF THE PRODIGAL.

LUKE XV. 11, 32.

NOTHING in the teaching of our Lord has sunk deeper into the mind and heart of Christendom than the story of the Prodigal ; and probably nothing else that He has taught has been so well learned by His Church as these simple lessons of the parable, that repentance is possible even after a career of open sin ; that it will be accepted by God, and that it ought to be accepted by man.

On the contrary, it was by this element in our Lord's life and teaching that the religious men of the Jewish Church—the Pharisees—were most offended and scandalized. They called Him—truly, though not in the sense which they intended—a friend of publicans and sinners ; they really and sincerely believed Him to be a subverter of moral distinctions. Yet they might have learned better from those prophets whose sepulchres they built and adorned. Isaiah had written long before, “ Wash you, make you clean ; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes. . . . Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow ; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.”¹ No language of John the Baptist or of Christ could be stronger. But this, like many other prophetic sayings, appears to have remained unappreciated and uncomprehended until it was adopted into the teaching of Christ. Most of His teaching, indeed, was anticipated, at some time and in some manner, by the prophets ; His originality consisted in gathering all the scattered rays of grace and truth into one focus.

The parable of the Prodigal Son was spoken apparently to

¹ Isa. i. 16, 18.

the Pharisees, and certainly in answer to their cavil, "This man receiveth sinners and eateth with them;" and this ought to be remembered in endeavouring to learn its meaning. Respecting the meaning of that part of the narrative which relates to the prodigal, there is, so far as we are aware, no doubt or controversy whatever. The story of his wanderings and his misfortunes is repeated in every age and every country; and to those who heard, whether Pharisees or publicans, he represented the "sinners," by receiving and eating with whom Christ scandalized the Pharisees. But what are we to make of the elder brother, who had remained at home with his father all the time of the prodigal's absence; and when the prodigal returned, and was received by his father with honour and festivity, was so angry and sullen that he would not so much as enter the house?

The usual interpretation is that he represents the Pharisees. But how can this be reconciled with his uncontradicted assertion to his father, "Lo, these many years do I serve thee, and I never transgressed a commandment of thine;"¹ and with his father's reply, "Son, thou art ever with me, and all that is mine is thine"? for the father, in any possible interpretation, is God. The Pharisees, by our Lord's account as recorded elsewhere, were very unlike this: "full of extortion and excess;" "true children of those who slew the prophets;" "children of the devil." The writer once heard a totally opposite interpretation offered, namely that the son who never left his father's house, and never transgressed a commandment of his father, can only represent the unfallen angels. This, however, is quite inadmissible; it would be altogether unlike our Lord's teaching to introduce the angels in such a context at all, still more to ascribe to them the very human failings of jealousy, anger, and sullenness.

The elder brother is as human as the younger, and he represents not the actual Pharisees but the Pharisaic ideal.

¹ Revised Version.]

The Pharisees were, no doubt, most of them, hypocrites, full of extortion and excess, making ceremonial righteousness not only a cloak before the world, but an excuse to their own consciences for moral unrighteousness; but in all this they fell short of their own ideal. There are such men among Christians; entire Churches have been, and perhaps are still, deeply infected with these errors; but they form no part of the ideal of even the least enlightened of the Churches. The ideal Pharisee, like the ideal Christian, was neither covetous, nor unjust, nor impure. He was blameless as touching the observance of both the ceremonial and the moral law. His fault was a narrowness of mind which caused him to set the observance of a Sabbath day, or other piece of ceremonial, on an equality with justice, mercy, and purity, and to value his descent from Abraham as much as his position as a child of God; and it belonged to the same legal, ceremonial, and somewhat mechanical view of righteousness, that he found it difficult to believe in the possibility of repentance, and impossible to believe that a repentant sinner could be at once and completely restored to the favour of God. And this mechanical view of righteousness, and narrowness of sympathy, though it did not alienate him from God, made his service of God less filial and less happy than it ought to have been. It was to men like these—not to the actual Pharisees but to Pharisees taken at their best—that our Lord spoke the parable of the Prodigal Son.

The faults of such a character are shown in the elder brother. His unsympathizing and un pitying harshness to the returning prodigal is what strikes us most; and rightly so: this is what our Lord intended. But let us not be unjust to him. Harshness towards a returning prodigal was by no means so manifestly opposed to the will of God under the old dispensation as it has been since our Lord spoke the wonderful parable which we are now considering; and deeply as its

lesson has sunk into the mind of Christendom, yet still perhaps the commonest feeling even of good men on this subject is that of the people described by George Eliot in *The Mill on the Floss*, with whom repentant prodigals "were sure of their daily bread, but it had to be eaten with the proper quantity of bitter herbs." From the point of view of the old dispensation, the feeling of the elder brother towards the prodigal does not seem to us in itself worthy of any severe condemnation. The parable was spoken by our Lord, not so much for condemnation of the Pharisees as for their warning, and for justification of His own treatment of sinners. What was worst in the elder brother was not his unbrotherly feeling towards his brother, for which there was much provocation and excuse, but his unfilial feeling towards his father, for which there was no provocation or excuse whatever. He was no doubt a true and obedient son; his boast, "I never transgressed a commandment of thine," was evidently true, and the totally unconscious way in which his unfilial feeling expresses itself is very remarkable. "Thou never gavest me (so much as) a kid, that I might make merry with my friends;" though his father's reply, "Son, thou art ever with me, and all that is mine is thine," shows that he was at liberty to invite whomsoever he pleased to his father's table. In his careful and somewhat mechanical obedience to his father, he never suspected himself of any feeling akin to that which prompted his brother to take away his portion of the family inheritance into the far country, and there waste it in riotous living. Yet there was the same evil root in his heart,—a deficiency of love to his father which showed itself as clearly, though not so fully, in his desire to make merry with his friends apart from his father, as in his brother's departure from their father's house in search of freedom from the wholesome restraints of home.

Of course the most obvious, and perhaps we may say the primary, purpose of this parable is to teach how a repentant

sinner ought to be welcomed back. But another purpose, and of scarcely secondary importance, is to show the temptations which beset those who, like the elder brother, have never left their father's house, and therefore have never had to return to it; who have never needed to pass through a crisis of conversion, but, like Samuel, have served God from their earliest years, and, like Timothy, have from childhood so known the Holy Scriptures as to be made wise unto salvation. Their blessedness is, that godliness is with them a habit; but their danger and their temptation is, that it may be nothing more,—that their obedience and devoutness may become mechanical, and their love be only for those who are like-minded with themselves.

It was apparently to such people as these that the Epistle to the Hebrews was addressed. From the comparative absence of reference to gross sins, we may infer that they were generally men of pure lives; and we are expressly told that they had come triumphantly through a trial of persecution, and showed their practical Christianity by their willingness to minister to the necessities of their fellow-believers.¹ They were children who had never left their father's house, and probably had never felt any temptation to do so; nor do they appear to have manifested anything like the selfish and sullen temper of the elder brother; yet the chief practical, as distinguished from doctrinal, lesson of the Epistle to the Hebrews is the danger of "drifting away"² from the faith which they had learned, and "falling away from the living God" through unavowed, and probably unconscious, unbelief, brought on by the deceitfulness of sin.³

There is a still more emphatic warning of the same danger in the Epistle to the Church of the Ephesians in the Apocalypse,—“I know thy works, and thy toil and thy patience; . . . and thou . . . didst bear for My name's sake, and hast not grown weary. But I have this against thee, that

¹ Heb. vii. 10, x. 32.

² Heb. ii. 1, Revised Version.

³ Heb. iii. 12, 13.

thou didst leave thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I come to thee, and will move thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent." This is exactly the state of mind and life of the prodigal's brother,—sincere and true service of God, but without that love from the heart which He desires and demands. We should observe that this "fall" of the Ephesian Church did not amount to apostasy. Christ does not say, "Thy candlestick is removed," or "Thy candle is going out:" He allows a space for repentance; and we may believe that these Ephesians, among whom, according to the received tradition, St. John passed the last years of his life, did accept the warning, and repent, and return to their first love. But though they had not lost their position, yet with their comparatively loveless service of Christ they were in danger of losing it. As the author of *Ecce Homo* truly says, "No virtue is safe unless it is enthusiastic." The position of the elder brother was exactly parallel to this. He was not guilty of apostasy—he was far too prudent to think of leaving his father's house, and with it comfort, respectability, occupation, which on the whole was probably agreeable, and the prospect of the inheritance which he should ultimately receive; but he served his father in an unfilial, unloving spirit which he unconsciously avows in the expression δουλεύω, "I serve thee as a bondservant;"¹ and in his wish that he might now and then have a roast kid whereon to feast with his own—not his father's—friends, there was the germ—though, it seems to us, only the germ—of the same disposition which in his brother became the full-grown apostasy of leaving his father's house.

¹ This remark is made in Stier's *Words of the Lord Jesus*, English translation, vol. iv. p. 153. Stier regards the elder brother as a mere hypocrite—a very different view from ours; and he appears to think that the words, "Son, thou art ever with me, and all that is mine is thine," were spoken in a kind of irony—an interpretation which seems to us impossible, especially if we compare 1 Cor. iii. 22.

Yet his boast, "These many years do I serve thee, and I never transgressed a commandment of thine," unfilial as was the spirit in which it was spoken, remained uncontradicted by his father, and is evidently meant to be understood as true. But from our Christian point of view the question must arise, How is this possible? how can any man say that he never transgressed a commandment of his Heavenly Father?

"What mortal, when he saw,
Life's voyage done, his Heavenly Friend,
Could ever yet dare tell Him fearlessly :
'I have kept unfringed my nature's law ;
The inly-written chart Thou gavest me
To guide me, I have steered by to the end'?"¹

The difficulty will, however, disappear if we are satisfied to use words in a sense which is sanctioned by Scripture, and not insist in using every word in its most definite theological sense. What is meant is not perfect obedience, for no one attains to this, but constant habitual obedience; and this is not only attainable, but is attained by many. The Apostle who says, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves," says in the same epistle a little farther on, "Who-soever abideth in Him sinneth not."² That is to say, no one is sinless; but he who abides in Christ does not abide in sin.

The elder brother's appeal to his father on the ground of his services was made in a Pharisaic spirit of legal righteousness, but his father replied in a spirit of fatherly love: "Son, thou art ever with me"—thou hast been with me from thy birth, thou art with me and wilt never leave me,—“and all that is mine is thine.” What more could man, or archangel, want than this, to be a child of God, living from his birth in the light of his Father's presence, heir of his Father's treasures, and even now able to have whatever he needs for the asking? Nothing is added to this declaration—it is only rhetorically amplified—by St. Paul's language to his Corinthian converts: "All things are yours; whether Paul, or

¹ Matthew Arnold.

² 1 John i. 8, iii. 6.

Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come ; all are yours.”¹ Nothing more is, or can be, needed, except the spirit which recognises and avails itself of these privileges and blessings. It was this spirit of appreciative, thankful reception of his blessings that was wanting to the elder brother. All his father’s goods were his, but he appeared not to know it. We may legitimately imagine his father ending his reply by saying, almost in the words written afterwards by St. James the Lord’s brother, “If thou hast not, it is because thou askest not.”²

We conclude, then, that the lesson of this parable is not single but twofold. Respecting the prodigal, it teaches that even in the case of open sinners repentance is possible ; that it will be accepted by God, and ought to be accepted by man. Respecting the elder brother, it teaches that the danger of those who make a profession of religion, and have always led a consistent life, is to fall into a habit of merely mechanical obedience, in which the blessedness that attends the free loving service of God disappears ; that this unloving mechanical sense of duty tends to be associated with an unloving hardness towards offenders ; and that the blessings which naturally belong to the position of a child of God who has never left his father’s house, may be endangered and lost if they are not rightly appreciated.

This parable has yet a third lesson, which, strangely enough, is more needed by us than it was by those to whom the parable was spoken. It is, that the father’s saying to the elder of the two sons, “Son, thou art ever with me”—with me from thy birth, and with me still—may yet, fallen and sinful as we are, be spoken by God to a human being. The Pharisees, notwithstanding the teaching of David and Isaiah,³ appear to have doubted the possibility of a sinner being converted to God. They would have thought there was

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 22.

² Jas. iv. 2.

³ See especially Ps. li. ; Isa. i. 16, 18.

nothing for the prodigal but to die of famine beside the swine's trough. A large part of the Church appears now to have fallen into the opposite error, and to believe that no such life is possible as that which we believe to be typified by the position of the elder brother. Such exclusive stress is laid on the necessity for conversion, that the returned and forgiven prodigal seems to be regarded as the type of all true children of God ; and the possibility of such a life as that of the elder brother in the parable, and of Samuel and Timothy in history, is denied, or at least forgotten.¹ The consequences of such teaching ought to be easy to foresee. If children and young men are taught that they are not children of God, but children of the devil, who may hope hereafter to be converted and to become children of God ; if they are taught that the action of the prodigal son in leaving his father's house, and wasting his substance in riotous living, is a law of nature and a part of the destiny of all men, they will follow his example when they attain to independence ;—they will endeavour to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, and will leave them only when the swine's husks of worldly excitement fail to appease the hunger of the soul. But the entire teaching of the Old Testament, and the teaching of the New Testament also, wherever there is any reference to the subject, is the opposite of this ;—it is that the children of believers are holy ;² that there is no necessity ever to leave the Father's house ; and that the aim of a religious education ought to be that the child shall be a true Christian from his earliest years, and serve God, not perfectly—for this is impossible to man—but unbrokenly all the days of his life.

JOSEPH JOHN MURPHY.

¹ See on this subject Dr. Horace Bushnell's *Christian Nurture* (Edinburgh and London, 1861). This excellent book appears not to be much known, at least on this side of the Atlantic. It would appear from its statements, that the very idea of the possibility of a Christian education preparing for and leading to a consistent Christian life from the earliest years, had been almost lost among the American Churches.

² 1 Cor. vii. 14.

THE LITERARY RECORD.

AMONG a variety of matters, M. de Laveleye¹ treats of the relation of Christianity to Socialism. He points out that while Christianity sanctions no particular political or social organization, it is nevertheless from the gospel that the movement for the emancipation of the lower classes has sprung, no less than that for the emancipation of the slave. There is no stranger aberration than that of levelling democrats who attack Christianity and adopt scientific materialism. The latter can only say, like Pilate, "What is justice?" (p. 139). An account is given of the strong alliance between the Catholics and the Socialists in Germany. The author arrives at the old conclusion, that men must be made better before a new order of things can be established. "The ruling idea of duty and right must be first purified and elevated. This is the long work reserved to the socialism of the professor's chair. He will undertake it, equipped with the exact knowledge of historical facts, and animated by the desire to help to establish among men that reign of justice and that kingdom of God of which Plato had a glimpse, and which was proclaimed by the prophets of Israel and by Jesus" (p. 333).

THE author of this work² appears to belong to the legal profession. His object is to examine, "without prejudice or prepossession," the authentic documents of Christianity. He considers that the Fourth Gospel is non-historical, the Synoptics generally credible. The "dominant idea" of Jesus was the kingdom of heaven. In this His "political ideas" were included. He was opposed to existing governments, and to the institution of property, and in general was antagonistic to the ideas of His own race. In His "ethical ideas," He accepted, modified, and gave currency to the ideas of the Essenes. The miracles are traced to "a certain magnetic power of allaying disorders." There was probably only one trial, and that before the Sanhedrim. The "basis of fact under the rumour of the resurrection" was the apparition of Jesus seen by Paul and other disciples. The concluding chapter is on the influence of Paul and John on historic Christianity. In his closing words the author inveighs against the shortcomings of organized Christianity, "which contemptuously

¹ *Le Socialisme Contemporain*. Par E. de Laveleye. 2nd edition. Paris : Lit. Germier & Cie. 1883. Pp. 333.

² *Jesus: His Opinions and Character: The New Testament Studies of a Layman*. Boston : G. H. Ellis. 1883. Pp. 471.

discontinues and denies the kingdom of heaven preached and practised by Jesus." It must point to its miraculous and beneficial works or give place to another evangel. There is much of that "fallacy of generalization" common to writers of sweeping views. What good thing in the world is not somewhere or other called Christian? What evil has not it some time or other sheltered under the same name?

In the first part of this work¹ Ewald deals with the nature of revelation, with its stages and its results in the spiritualization of humanity, and its aims. He next discusses revelation in heathenism and in Israel. The founding of a true community of God meant a conflict against heathen degeneracy and final victory over it; and spiritual development reaches its height in the realization of the power of the Holy Spirit, and the creation of a holy nation. In the third part the literary aspects of the Bible are considered, the history of the canon and the "nature of the actual sacredness of the Bible," and the proper use of it. This is a work to be read for general effect rather than for detailed information. It does not bristle with notes and references, but abounds in general views expressed in a manner of vague suggestiveness, which can only be termed Ewald's manner. All will not agree with the translator that his style is "eloquent and inspired." Some will consider that he had no style at all. His writing always has the effect of a monologue taken down by a reporter—the soliloquy of a vague and vasty mind, at home amidst the world of abstractions and logical phantasms, and seeing the facts enveloped in a haze of *à priori*s. He has the air, here and in his history, of evolving the world out of his own consciousness; in short, he is a votary of the *logos* like all his theological countrymen. From this cause and the want of style, Ewald is very difficult reading. There seems to be no particular reason why a sentence should ever come to an end; and when it does, and one tries to seize its meaning, a straggling piece of gossamer is left in one's hand. "Revelation differs from poetry, which it resembles as a seizure by an overmastering thought with which it remains in its immediateness, in that poetry as a mood of mind yields to and obeys every subject of thought, but revelation concerns only a limited province of thought and a special feeling of need" (p. 8). Nevertheless, one feels, in dreaming one's way through these pages, the effluence of a lofty and religious soul stealing upon the mind. Ewald had a true sympathy with all the noble elements of antiquity; and with all his faults of

¹ *Revelation: its Nature and Record.* By H. Ewald. Translated by Rev. Thos. Goadby, B.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1884. Pp. 479.

rash confidence in himself and arrogance towards other scholars, he has done much towards expanding the theological horizon, and dignifying the study of sacred antiquity.

THIS work¹ consists of a series of interesting sketches of the works of benevolence of pre-Christian and of Christian times. The abbot endeavours to show that before the coming of Christ the world was a "world without love" (c. i.). It had, however, as he points out, a great deal of liberality, generosity, and even organized means of relief for the poor. For all that it had no genuine *caritas*. If a pagan were to rise up and write a history of "Christian hatred," he might paint another picture. However, the abbot, like his order in general, thinks that Christianity cannot be rightly glorified without casting paganism into the shadow—a common fault of taste. The beneficent regulations of the law with the teaching of the prophets are next touched upon, and a short exposition given of the manifestation of love in Christ, followed by a sketch of charity in the apostolic age. The picture of poverty and distress during the Roman Empire is instructive as compared with what is said to be the similar state of things in our own day—the accumulation of property in the hands of the few and the impoverishment of the many. The evidence of Christian benevolent activity is not so ample as could be wished. It is shown that gifts were made under the form of sacrifices, also of oblations on the anniversary of the departed, in honour of their memory. The service of deacons and deaconesses in the administration of charity is next described. In times of pestilence Christian charity was, of course, especially called forth; and it is maintained (on the statements of Christians) that they alone preserved their courage and affection in these trials, while the heathen were callous or lost heart. On the other hand, the lawfulness of slavery was never questioned; but numerous exhortations to kindness to slaves are to be met with. Hospitality was also amply practised. Under "Obscurements" the corruptions of Christianity are treated of; the sin-stoning power of alms, insisted on by Cyprian, which never afterwards gives way so far down to Constantine. One symptom of change in the fourth century was the abolition of *Agapae*. Oblations dwindled; but legalized testamentary bequests supplied a new source of revenue. In the fifth century the Church had become

¹ *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*. By G. Ulhorn, Dr. Theol., Abbot of Loccum. Translated by Sophia Taylor. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883. Pp. 421.

the greatest landowner in the empire ; and Church property became the main stock for the relief of the poor ; the bishop was the great almsgiver ; and the old system of *diakonia* was dissolved. The insistence on almsgiving by the Fathers in their sermons continues ; and their power to expiate sin is found even in Augustine. "The doctrine of purgatory and of the influence which almsgiving exercises even upon souls in purgatory, determined more than anything else the charity of the whole mediæval period." Here the abbot somewhat departs from the strong positions of his first chapter. "All Christian life exhibits a mingling of Christian and ancient elements, and as the ethic of Ambrose is Christian-Ciceronian, so, too, is charity a mingling of Christian *caritas* and ancient *liberalitas*. Men gave with full hands, but more and more lost sight of the purpose for which they gave. Giving was itself esteemed a virtue. The more any one gave, the more perfect was he." There is a chapter on Hospitals, another on Monasteries, in connection with the leading theme. It will be seen that the work is incidentally a sketch of Church history down to the Reformation, taken from a particular point of view. The ideal *caritas* with which the writer starts is a very different thing from that actual charity of history which he proves to have proceeded from very mixed motives in human nature. The work is clearly translated.

THE object of these lectures¹ is "to exhibit, in outline, the two-fold mediatorial character which belongs to the Eternal Son of God, as the sole means wherethrough the *ad extra* action of the Godhead has ever proceeded." The method is throughout the old scholastic *à priori*, which, starting from highly transcendental or poetical data, deduces from them a theological theory of the universe. In other words, the treatise is an expansion of the Nicene Creed between the acceptance of which and some form of unbelief the author sees no standing ground. The Creation is a mode of the mediation of the Son, of which the Incarnation is the full development. The grandeur of the universe finds its expression in the Son of God as Heir of all things. Nor is there any contradiction between the results of science and theological truth. The moral life and probation of the unseen angelic world is unfolded, with the effects of sin on angelic natures traced. Of the visible world man is the head. The contrasted theories of the origin of the soul,—

¹ *The One Mediator ; the Operation of the Son of God in Nature and in Grace*. Bampton Lecture, 1882. By P. G. Medd, M.A. London : Rivington. 1884. Pp. xxiii. 584.

"Traducianism" and "Creationism," are both true. With Anselm and Thomas of Aquinum, the author thinks that the Incarnation was not contingent on the fall of man and on the necessity of redemption; at the same time, much may be said for the Scotist view. The Incarnation alone links creation to God, secures its continued development, and tends to the fulfilment of an all-inclusive divine purpose, to us but partially revealed. The Preparation for the Incarnation and the Theophanies of the Old Testament are next discussed in detail. In the system of the law the Son is found to be operative, as King, as Priest, as Passover sacrifice. He is the "God of Israel." The Baptism, Fasting, and Temptation of Christ, His work as Prophet, Priest, and Sacrifice, next pass under review; and His ministration to the departed in the unseen state is slightly touched upon. The two closing lectures are on the work of the Mediator during the Great Forty Days and after the Ascension. There is a copious appendix treating of some of the mysterious questions handled in the volume. The book, it will be seen, is an exposition of Catholic theology in the wider historical sense of the word, and takes its place as fellow to Dr. Liddon's lecture. It is liberal, at the same time, in its spirit. The author, however, treads serenely a road which, although ancient and frequented by great theologians, has had of late a much diminished number of passengers. The question must arise as to the value of the methods of transcendental theology in a day when the literary form of the religious literature of the Bible is so much studied. It will seem to many that the fallacy of emphasis underlies much of the reasoning in the book. Relative truths are hardened into absolutes. Plastic representations of the divine in poetic language are hardly suitable to be formally reasoned about. And bold casts at the truth by the great schoolmen may be admired without necessarily assuming that they hit the mark, or anything near it. In a word, the problems of the world are too deep and difficult to be disposed of in the old authoritative manner. This is a very general and a very serious opinion. No reader, however, will fail to acknowledge the scholarly, sober, and devout tone of Mr. Medd's lectures.

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Naturally this tract was a perfectly level plain, with a slight tilt to the south-west. It was one of enormous productive power; but for the full fertility of the soil to be made available, it was necessary that the water of the two great streams should be artificially spread far and wide over its

surface. Until human art supplemented the arrangements of nature, by far the greater portion of the area would have been alternate swamp and desert. Date-groves would, no doubt, have thickly fringed the banks of the main streams, and of any lesser channels into which they may have divided themselves; but the spaces between the streams, unwatered by springs, and rarely refreshed by showers, would, excepting in spring-time, when they must have been inundated, have tended to become dry and parched up, covered only with a coarse grass, or with low bushes, such as now cover the level country in many places where it is left uncultivated.

Still, compared with other regions, the country would have been one to attract the regards of primitive man and draw him to settle in it. Here was a climate which, if warmer than agreeable in summer, was at any rate free from any extreme of cold in winter, and might be inhabited by those whose clothing was of the scantiest, and whose houses consisted of wattled huts, formed of willow or tamarisk boughs and thatched with palm-leaves or reeds. The date-palm was alone sufficient to sustain life. Strabo says that it furnished the Babylonians of his day with "bread, wine, vinegar, honey, goats, string and ropes of all kinds, and a mash for fattening cattle."<sup>1</sup> The fruit is even now the principal food of the common people in all date-growing countries. The pith was also eaten; a slightly intoxicating liquor was made from the sap; this, on undergoing the acetous fermentation, became vinegar; palm-sugar was obtained from the dried fruit; the bark furnished ropes and string; the timber was employed for building and furniture. According to the native tradition,<sup>2</sup>—which is accepted by Niebuhr<sup>3</sup> and others,—the wheat plant was also here indigenous, and was extraordinarily large and productive. The leaves were as broad as the palm of a man's hand; and the tendency to grow leaves was so great

<sup>1</sup> Strab. xvi. 1, § 14.

<sup>2</sup> Bessons, Fr., i. § 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Vorträge über alte Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 21 (ed. of 1847)

that the Babylonians were accustomed to mow their wheat-fields twice, and then pasture their cattle on them, in order to keep down the blade and induce the plant to run to ear. The return was enormous: on the most moderate computation, it amounted to fifty-fold at the least, and often reached a hundred-fold.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, it was not long after the subsidence of the Noachial Deluge that the Babylonian alluvium became somewhat densely inhabited, and a city life—already known to mankind before the great catastrophe (Gen. iv. 17: “Chaldean account of the Deluge,” col. i. line 11)—was adopted by a considerable portion of the population. The author of Genesis notes this fact in several places. “Nimrod,” he tells us, who was the son of Cush and the great-grandson of Noah, “began to be a mighty one in the earth. . . . And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar” (Gen. x. 8–10). These places are evidently cities, and their foundation is at latest in the fourth generation after the Deluge. A more particular account is given in ch. xi. of the building of one of them, viz. Babel or Babylon:—

“The whole earth was of one language and of one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east [eastward, R. V.], that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them throughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar. And they said, Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven: and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one [they are one people, R. V.], and they have all one language, and this [is what,

<sup>1</sup> Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* viii. 7.

R. V.] they begin to do ; and now nothing will be restrained [withholden, R. V.] from them which they have imagined [purpose, R. V.] to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth ; and they left off to build the city. Therefore is [was, R. V.] the name of it called Babel ; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth" (ch. xi. 1-9).

In the same chapter we find mention of a fifth Babylonian city, called " Ur of the Chaldees " (ch. xi. 28, 31), which, if not of equal antiquity with the other four, is at any rate not much posterior to them, and which possesses a peculiar interest as the birth-place of the " father of the faithful "—the great Hebrew patriarch, Abraham.

Can we locate the several cities here mentioned ? Can we form any notion of their primitive circumstances and condition ? Can we picture to ourselves the life of their inhabitants, and the relations in which the several cities stood, in the early times, one towards another ?

We begin with the most famous—Babylon or Babel. The site of this great city has never ceased to be known from the time of its foundation. It was the chief city of the Lower Mesopotamian region from about B.C. 1600 to B.C. 300, when it had to yield its pre-eminence to Seleucia. From that time it dwindled and declined, until at last it ceased to be inhabited ; but the site always retained the name, and was well known to historians and geographers. Benjamin of Tudela mentions it in the twelfth century, Abulfeda and Sir John Maundeville in the fourteenth, Balbi in the sixteenth, Pietro della Valle in the seventeenth. Carsten Niebuhr in 1765 found the spot still called " Ard Babel." <sup>1</sup> Rich in 1811,

<sup>1</sup> Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, vol. ii. p. 234.

Layard in 1850, Oppert in 1852, found the name Babel, or Babil, especially attached to the most striking of the ruins.<sup>1</sup> There is sufficient evidence to satisfy any candid mind, that an uninterrupted tradition among the inhabitants of the region has always pointed out the massive ruins on the Euphrates above Hillah as those of the great city which was so long the mistress of Southern Mesopotamia, and which for a time wielded the sceptre of the world.

The second city of the group mentioned in Gen. x. 10 may be also identified without much difficulty. The native name, which the Hebrews represented by Erech, seems to have been *Uruk*. This the Alexandrian Greeks represented by Orech, and the classical writers, both Greek and Latin, by Orchoë.<sup>2</sup> Orchoë, upon the Arab conquest, was corrupted into Warka; and this name still attaches to an important group of ruins in the territory of the Montefik Arabs, about five miles east of the Euphrates in lat. 31° 20'. There can be no reasonable doubt that Warka is Erech. It is distant about eighty miles from Babylon in a south-easterly direction, and is about 160 miles from the sea.

Accad, the third city, is not so easy to locate. The Babylonian remains give "Akkad" generally as a country, the more northern portion of Babylonia, that adjoining upon the Assyrian upland. Mr. George Smith, however, the explorer and Assyriologist, found a town in this district, the Babylonian name of which he read as *Agadé*, and this *Agadé* he believed to represent the Biblical "Accad."<sup>3</sup> *Agadé* was in the immediate vicinity of the modern Sura, which is upon the Euphrates, about eleven or twelve miles above Babylon, on the left bank. It is questioned,<sup>4</sup> however, if the true reading of the name read as *Agadé* by Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Rich, *Journey to Babylon*, p. 13; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 484; Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. i. p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xvi. 1, § 6; Ptol. v. 20; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Babylonia*, p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> By Professor Sayce and others.

Smith is not rather Agané, in which case the supposed identification would fall to the ground, and the site of "Accad" would be an unsolved problem.

Calneh, the fourth city, which is called Kalanné or Kalané by the LXX. (Gen. x. 10 ; Isa. x. 9), is thought to be the modern "Niffer"<sup>1</sup> situated on the eastern edge of the Affej marshes, between fifty and sixty miles from Babylon towards the south-east. This identification rests mainly on a passage of the Talmud, which says that Calneh was the same place as "Nopher," which is no doubt a variant for "Niffer." The ancient name appears to have been "Nipur;" and the city may have obtained its variant title of Calneh, or Kal-ana, from its being a main seat of the worship of Ana, one of the chief Babylonian gods. Kal-ana would mean "the fort of the god Ana;" and just as Asshur, the early capital of Assyria, was known also as Tel-ana,<sup>2</sup> "the hill of Ana," so Nipur may have had a second name of a similar character.

A tradition, which however can only be traced back to the time of Ephræm Syrus, A.D. 330-370, identified the "Ur" of Genesis with Orfa, or Orrha, as it appears to have been sometimes called, a town of Upper Mesopotamia, in the near vicinity of Haran or *Harran*. And this identification is still accepted by many. But the tract in which Orfa was situated was never known as Chaldæa, and never even subject to the Chaldees, whether northern or southern, the northern Chaldees dwelling in Eastern Armenia and not being a conquering people, while the southern ones seem never to have held the Upper Mesopotamian tract, which was distant above four hundred miles from their proper country. The Chaldees of Scripture (*Casdim*) are from first to last the people (or a people) of Babylonia, and it is in Babylonia that the earliest Jewish tradition, that recorded by

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 490 (2nd ed.).

<sup>2</sup> Steph. Byz. *ad voc.* Τηλάνη.

Eupolemus,<sup>1</sup> about B.C. 150, places Ur, or "Uria," as he calls it, the home of Abraham. Modern research has found in this region an ancient Babylonian city which bore the identical name of Ur, or rather 'Ur, the Babylonian literation exactly corresponding to the Hebrew, which is *אור*. The ruins of this place bear at present the name of Mugheir, or "the bitumened," from the great quantity of bitumen found in them. They are situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, at the distance of about six miles from the stream, nearly opposite the point where the Euphrates receives the Shat-el-Hie from the Tigris. They are distant from Warka (Erech) forty miles, from Niffer (Calneh) about ninety miles, from Babylon about 150 miles.

A great uniformity of character attaches to all these sites. The early inhabitants seem to have regarded two things as necessary conditions to render a place suitable for their abode. In the first place, it must be within a reasonable distance of the Euphrates, or of some branch stream; in the second, it must be slightly elevated above the general level of the plain, so as to escape the inundation which almost every spring covers the greater part of the low country. Although the alluvium is, in a general way, level, yet it presents certain natural inequalities, the result of the water action of many centuries, of the currents, eddies, changes in the beds of streams, etc., which have caused slight elevations in certain places, and considerable depressions in others. These depressions are under water for a third part of the year,<sup>2</sup> and are therefore unsuited for habitations. They are throughout the year marshy and unhealthy, though valuable on account of their products. These consist of huge reeds, and also of game of all kinds—lions, pelicans, francolins, king-fishers, and various species of water-fowl.<sup>3</sup> The reeds furnish materials for huts and boats, and were doubtless utilized by the primitive

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Euseb., *Præp. Ev.*

<sup>2</sup> Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana*, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, pp. 350-353.

people before they were sufficiently advanced in civilisation to mould bricks and harden them in kilns or furnaces. The present life of the Affej Arabs gives probably a fair idea of the condition and habits of the earliest dwellers in Babylonia.

"The Affej towns consist entirely of reed huts, the reeds being tied in large bundles, and neatly arched overhead. This primitive construction is covered externally with thick matting, impervious to rain. The riches of the Affej are indicated by rows of huge reed cylindrical baskets, containing the grain upon which they subsist. Rice is produced in great abundance along the edges of the marsh; but the whole of the fields were at the season of our visit . . . entirely under water. Communication is kept up, as on the marshes of the Hindieh, by means of long, sharp, pointed terrádas, constructed of teak, and measuring 12 or 14 feet long by a yard in width."<sup>1</sup> Others, as Sir Austin Layard tells us, "consist simply of a very narrow framework of rushes covered with bitumen, resembling probably the vessels of bulrushes mentioned by Isaiah (ch. xviii. 2). They skim over the surface of the water with great rapidity."<sup>2</sup> In their Chaldaean wars the Assyrians came upon tribes in exactly this condition, and faithfully delineated the scenes upon their bas-reliefs.<sup>3</sup>

But the ingenuity of the primitive Babylonians soon carried them beyond such rude and simple constructions. Possessing no metals, which Babylonia did not produce, they contrived to make themselves axes, hammers, knives, and planes of stone and flint, wherewith they succeeded in cutting down palm-trees, and shaping them into beams, door-posts, planks, and even boats. Wooden houses took the place of the earlier reed hovels, the roof and supports being probably of timber, and the outer walls perhaps of plaster or clay.

<sup>1</sup> Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana*, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 552.

<sup>3</sup> Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, Pls. 25, 27, and 28.



Houses of this character still exist in the Mesopotamian region, especially among the Yezidi of the Sinjar. "The best house in the village," says Sir A. Layard, "had been made ready for us, and was scrupulously neat and clean, as the houses of the Yezidis usually are. It was curiously built, being divided into three principal rooms opening one into another. They were separated by a wall about six feet high, on which were placed wooden pillars supporting the ceiling. The roof rested on trunks of trees, raised on rude stone pedestals at regular intervals in the centre chamber, which was open on one side to the air, like a Persian Iwan. The sides of the room were honeycombed with small recesses, like pigeon-holes, tastefully arranged. The whole was plastered with the whitest plaster, fancy designs in bright red being introduced here and there, giving the interior of the house a very original appearance."<sup>1</sup> Similar designs have been found on some walls of very early Babylonian buildings: sometimes they consist of mere bands about three inches wide, alternately red, black, and white, but occasionally they represent figures, animal and human.<sup>2</sup>

Even, however, habitations of this superior kind did not long content the Babylonians. Greater permanency became an object of desire; a more secure protection against heat and rain was felt to be needed. In most countries these wants lead early to the erection of edifices of stone, the most lasting material that is widely diffused over the earth's surface. But in Babylonia, speaking generally, there was no stone. Except on the verge of the Arabian desert, which is strewn with fragments of black basalt, and on the skirts of the Kebir Kuh and Pushti Kuh, if the tract east of the Tigris may be reckoned to Babylonia, stone was absolutely wanting, the soil consisting everywhere of a deep alluvial deposit, chiefly clay and loam, with occasional sand and gravel. The

<sup>1</sup> *Nin. and Babylon*, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of R. Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. pp. 408 and 410.

Babylonians were therefore precluded from following the architectural example of most other nations. In this difficulty they found a material, in some respects superior to stone, more tractable, more easy of conveyance, and almost more lasting, which was everywhere ready to their hand, and by means of which they were able to erect solid, durable, and magnificent constructions. This material was brick. The clay with which the alluvium abounds is of a most tenacious character, and even when merely exposed to the heat of the sun becomes so firm and hard as to be a very tolerable building material; when kiln-baked, it is a very compact substance indeed, and may be pronounced superior to most kinds of stone in respect of enduringness.

The earliest of the existing Babylonian ruins are of sun-dried brick; but burnt brick was also used from a very remote period, ordinarily as a facing to the inferior material, which formed the mass of each edifice. Walls were commonly of great thickness, probably to keep out the heat; and buildings of any pretension were usually emplaced upon mounds, the intention being (probably) in part to secure them against the danger of inundation, in part to elevate them into an atmosphere above that most frequented by the gnats and mosquitoes, which are among the chief plagues of hot marshy regions. Temples, which were the habitations of the powerful priest-class, especially affected a superior altitude. They occupied commonly the summit of a sort of truncated pyramid, built in stages, which occasionally were as many as seven. Flights of steps led up from one stage to another, the last flight conducting the visitor to the shrine itself, which was small but rich in its ornamentation. The houses in Babylon itself were, we are told,<sup>1</sup> of several storeys in height, the object being doubtless the same, to reach a rarer atmosphere, above the ordinary flight of the insects.

There must have been a general resemblance among most

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 180.

of the Babylonian cities. Embosomed in groves of palms, with orchards and gardens both without and within the walls, they were centres from which the cultivation of cereals was carried on, so far as the water from the streams on which they were situated could be carried. Nature provided an abundance of the life-giving fluid. It was probably at an early date that the art of man was called in to assist in its greater diffusion, and canals began to be cut in the soft soil, for the purpose of irrigating the tracts that lay at some distance from the river. A monarch who cannot be placed much later than B.C. 1600, has left an inscription commemorating his excavation of a great canal, which he calls "a stream of abundant waters, the joy of men."<sup>1</sup> He was not, however, the first to engage in a work of this kind—the task which he set himself was, he tells us, to restore rather than to create. "The canal Khammurabi," he says, "for the people of Sumir and Accad I excavated. Its banks, all of them, I restored to newness; new supporting walls I heaped up; perennial waters for the people of Sumir and Accad I provided."<sup>2</sup> At a later time the whole country became covered with a network of artificial channels, by means of which the precious fluid was conveyed to all parts of the territory.

One city, however, was somewhat peculiarly situated. The town called 'Ur, which we identify with the scriptural "Ur of the Chaldees," was situated so low down the stream of the Euphrates that it was practically the port of Babylonia. It was at first either actually on the shore of the Gulf, or at any rate but a very short distance removed from it. Hence the inscriptions constantly speak of "the ships of Ur," and represent the inhabitants as engaged largely in commerce. A brisk trade was doubtless carried on from exceedingly remote times between the various dwellers upon the Gulf—Babylonians, Arabs, Elamites—and it is not unlikely that

<sup>1</sup> See *Records of the Past*, vol. i. p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

there was some early communication between the Mesopotamian emporium, 'Ur, and the distant countries of India, Ethiopia, and Egypt.

In the most ancient times to which the Babylonian monuments carry us back, the entire country did not form a single organized monarchy. The great cities, 'Ur, Erech, Nipur, Larsa, Babel, etc., were for the most part capitals of distinct and separate states, each ruled by its own native kings. Wars between the different states were frequent, and sometimes they had to submit themselves, one and all, to the dominion of a foreign conqueror. It was not till about the seventeenth century before our era that consolidation took place, and the six or seven states which had for many centuries divided Babylonia among them became united into a single monarchy, under a line of kings who fixed their capital at Babylon.<sup>1</sup>

G. RAWLINSON.

<sup>1</sup> G. Smith, *History of Babylonia*, p. [81.

## THE BOOK OF JUBILEES.

## II.

EXPLANATIONS of the meaning of names are sometimes given.<sup>1</sup> Thus Eden is interpreted *pleasure*, which reminds one of the LXX. *παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς*, *Paradisus voluptatis*, Vulg. Sala (son of Cainan) is *dismissal*; modern authorities make it to signify *extension*. Phalek is *division*, "for in his days the sons of Noah began to divide the earth." Ragev (= Reu or Ragan) is so named "because the sons of men have become *evil*" (ch. x.). Seruch refers to his *turning away* in order to commit wickedness (ch. xi.). Ur Kasdim takes its appellation from its founder Ur, and his father Kesed (ch. xi.). Tharah (Terah), son of Nakhor (Nahor), was so called by his father "because the birds stole and devoured the seeds sown in the fields."

Corrections of passages in the inspired narrative misunderstood, or liable to be misinterpreted, are offered, and supposed omissions or gaps are supplied from other sources. Some of these intercalations have been given above. The following are a few further examples. On the day that Adam fell, the mouths of all animals were closed, and they spoke no more as heretofore; our first parents were clothed in order to show their superiority to the beasts of the earth, and the directions concerning apparel were given to the Israelites to differentiate them from the heathen; the gradual deterioration of men was induced by the efforts of evil demons who, until checked by God's interference, exercised terrible power upon earth; the blessing of Shem (Gen. ix. 26, 27) was, "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and may the Lord dwell in his habitations;"

<sup>1</sup> These examples are collected by Rünsch, p. 496 ff., and Frankel, *Monatsschr.* v. p. 380 ff.

Terah abode in Charran when Abram left his home, but prayed his son to come and fetch him when he was settled in his new abode; Hagar died before Sarah, and it was after the death of both that Abraham married Keturah; before his death Abraham summoned Ishmael and his twelve sons, Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah with their children, and gave them a solemn charge to cultivate purity and righteousness and to live at peace with each other; Judah and Levi remained at home with their father (while the other sons were sent forth to tend the herds), and received special blessings and prerogatives from Isaac; for his action against the Shechemites, Levi was highly honoured, and his posterity was elected to the everlasting priesthood; Joseph withstood the solicitations of Potiphar's wife for a full year, being then seventeen years old; he was beloved by all the courtiers, because he was perfectly upright and fair, took no bribes, and behaved with affability to all; Jacob his father gave him two portions in the land of Canaan, and thenceforward Joseph lived in peace, and nothing evil happened to him till the day of his death.

In the chronology of our Book many points are noteworthy. Thus from the Creation to the Exodus, the period comprised in the work, the author reckons forty-nine jubilees, one year-week, and two years, *i.e.* 2410 years, and makes the passage of the Jordan to occur A.M. 2450. Then his year consists of fifty-two weeks, *i.e.* 364 days. "The sun," he says, "was made for a great sign upon the earth to regulate days, and sabbaths, and years, and jubilees, and all seasons" (ch. ii.); "but the moon confuses and mars the order, and comes every year ten days in advance" (ch. vi.); and the only way of preventing confusion and error in the whole system of feasts is to make the year number 364 days. Taking for granted that a new jubilee began at the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, he had to arrange his chronology accordingly, and he therefore reckons fifty jubilees of forty-

nine years each to the close of the wanderings in the desert. In very many particulars he agrees entirely with the Masoretic texts of Genesis and Exodus, but he takes liberties or follows a different reading in other passages. To give a few examples:—Jared was sixty-two years old when he begat Enoch, the present Hebrew text giving his age as one hundred and sixty-two; Methuselah's son Lamech was born when his father was sixty-seven (187 Heb.); Lamech was fifty-three (182 Heb.) when he begat Noah. So in enumerating the post-diluvian patriarchs, the author is greatly at variance with existing authorities. Arphaxad begets Cainan seventy-four years after the flood;<sup>1</sup> Cainan begets Salah in his fifty-seventh year; Salah begets Eber in his sixty-seventh; Eber, Peleg in his sixty-eighth; Peleg, Reu in his sixty-first; Nahor, Terah in his sixty-second. All these numbers differ from those in the Hebrew and the Septuagint. On the question of the "four hundred and thirty years," in Ex. xii. 40, the Jubilee Book would seem to agree with the LXX. in reading "in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan;" for the date of Isaac's birth is fixed A.M. 1980, *i.e.* 430 years before the Exodus, and thus the reckoning includes the sojourn in Canaan; but it dates the arrival of Jacob in Egypt at A.M. 2172, thus making the residence of the Israelites in that country last for two hundred and thirty-eight years. The arrangement of the years of Moses' life is not altogether in accordance with Scripture. He is born A.M. 2330, is introduced at the King's court at the age of twenty-one, kills the Egyptian and flees when he is forty-two, and remains in Midian for thirty-six years. Joseph's birth is set A.M. 2134, he is sold when seventeen years old, was a slave for ten and in prison for three

<sup>1</sup> The introduction of Cainan between Arphaxad and Salah is authorized by the LXX., but the chronology is different. Those who desire to enter further into the chronology of the Jubilees will find help in Dillmann, and in *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1858, p. 279 ff., only rejecting the writer's unwarrantable conclusion that the Book was written some three hundred years B.C.

years, and held the supremacy in Egypt for eighty years, dying at the age of 110, "in the second year of the sixth week (year week) of the forty-sixth Jubilee," = A.D. 2242. This would make him only 108 years old at his death. There are very many other passages where the dates given do not harmonize with preceding or succeeding statements. Some of these miscalculations are doubtless ascribable to clerical errors in MSS., some are corrected in the old Latin versions, but a great number of deviations remain which can only be explained by carelessness in the translator, or lapse of memory in the writer. Abraham is born A.M. 1876; he dies at the age of 175, "in the first week of the forty-fourth jubilee, in the second year," *i.e.* A.M. 2109, which is quite wrong, and would make him 233 years old at his death. And if, as Dillmann proposes, we read "the forty-third jubilee," we shall set his decease in A.M. 2060, which is still nearly ten years wrong according to the jubilee date of his birth. Such manifest mistakes we should be inclined to attribute to the scribe or the translator, rather than to the author himself. His plan, indeed, required great skill and precision. Starting from the principle, that the period from the creation to the entrance into Canaan consisted of fifty jubilees of forty-nine years each, and being dominated by the idea of the sacredness and preponderance of the number seven, he had to fit events into their proper place in this septenary system. And certainly, if we consider the use of numbers in Holy Scripture and the mystery which attaches to them, we cannot but allow the importance of the number seven. In his zeal, however, for the use of this number, our author sometimes introduces it where Scripture is silent, sometimes for this purpose even alters the wording of his text. Thus he affirms that God opened seven sluices in heaven to produce the flood, and that Benjamin's mess was seven times as great as his brethren's. But other considerations lead us to think that there is a significance in the Scriptural employment of this number which is not



to be disregarded. Its continual recurrence in the Revelation of St. John confirms this view. It is the number of forgiveness, of covenant, of holiness, perfection, and rest. The idea of rest, of course, meets us at the close of the work of creation ; but there are many other instances of a similar use. Enoch, the seventh from Adam, never tasted death, but was translated and entered into his rest ; six times seven stations brought the Israelites to the promised land ; on the seventh day the walls of Jericho fell down, and the people took possession of the city, after they had marched round it seven times with seven priests blowing seven trumpets. I need here hardly mention the Sabbatical year and the year of Jubilee, by the former of which the soil obtained a period of rest after being cropped for six successive years, and by the latter the state, the body politic, had its rest and sanctification, for then estates returned to their original possessors, and slaves were manumitted. All the feasts were more or less connected with the Sabbatical system. The Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles lasted each of them seven days ; seven weeks after the Passover came Pentecost ; the great Day of Atonement occurred in the seventh month of the year, itself a sacred month ; the days of holy convocation were seven. Further, the blood of propitiation was sprinkled seven times before the mercy-seat ; seven were the pieces of furniture pertaining to the Tabernacle ; seven were the branches of the sacred candlestick.<sup>1</sup>

With such grounds for giving considerable importance to the number seven, our author with great skill reduced his historical facts to these dimensions ; and it is not unlikely that many errors have crept into the present text from the scribes' or translators' neglect of this principle, and that many difficulties might be removed by the restoration of the septenary reckoning where it seems to be neglected. Where the chief dates, the epochs assigned to leading events, are not divisible

<sup>1</sup> Some of the above remarks concerning the number seven are quoted from an article contributed by me some years ago to a now forgotten Review.

by seven, we may reasonably conclude that there is some error in our versions which did not exist in the original, or that some passages have perished which would have introduced consistency in statements now incomplete or contradictory. The intended precision in the text, which to some events assigns not only the year, but even the month and the day, is attained by a comparison of the various dates afforded by the Hebrew, by arbitrary alterations, by rabbinical glosses, and by the introduction of later holy days and seasons into these earlier times. Many of the dates thus obtained are interesting. Thus the Fall takes place on the seventeenth day of the second month in the year 8; Abel offers his sacrifice in his twenty-second year at the full moon of the seventh month—the Feast of Tabernacles, A.M. 99; Noah is born A.M. 709, and dies at the age of 950, A.M. 1659, having observed the Feast of Weeks for 350 years, and being contemporary with Adam for more than 200 years. The sons of Noah were born thus:—Shem in 1207, Ham in 1209, and Japhet in 1212, and the flood began in 1308; Noah divides the earth among his three sons in 1569; the tower of Babel was begun in the fourth week of the thirty-fourth jubilee = 1645 A.M., and the construction was stopped forty-three years afterwards. Abram leaves Egypt in 1961, when Tanis was built, and receives the covenant of circumcision on the Feast of First-fruits, in 1979; Isaac is born on the same festival in the following year; he marries Rebecca in the same year that his father married Keturah; Abraham before he dies (A.M. 2060) blesses and instructs Jacob. Jacob is sixty-eight years old when he is sent away to Mesopotamia, A.M. 2114. Isaac dies (A.M. 2162) in the same year that Joseph, being then of the age of thirty, is raised to be next to King Pharaoh. The birth of Pharez and Zarah coincides with the end of the seven years of plenty in Egypt.

In the above chronological arrangements there are many inconsistencies and inaccuracies which are easy to point out;

but the labour is hardly profitable, as the dates have been quoted merely to give a notion of the treatment employed which satisfied the author's requirements, and not with any idea of effecting an improvement in the received chronology, faulty and deceptive as it undoubtedly is. The subject has been taken in hand by Krüger (in *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1858), who has examined most of the chronological statements in the Book, showing their various inconsistencies and correcting errors where possible.

There are passages relating to events then future, sometimes not told in prophetic character. Thus it is said, ch. xxxviii.: "There were kings who reigned over Edom, before that a king reigned over the children of Israel, even unto this day. There was a king in Edom, Balak son of Beor, the name of whose city was Dinaba." But commonly many matters of later history are assigned to early times, especially those that are concerned with ceremonial and ritual observances. Thus the Sabbath was observed by the angels in heaven before it was appointed for men at the end of the creation. The law about the purification of women after childbirth (Lev. xii.) is traced to the fact that Adam was made in the first week and Eve in the second; hence the enactment, "seven days for a man-child and two weeks for a maid-child." And the further law concerning the time of separation after parturition is grounded on the introduction of Adam into Eden forty days after his creation, and of Eve eighty days after her formation. At sunrise on the day that Adam was banished from the garden, he offers incense composed of the four ingredients specified in Ex. xxx. 34; Cain's fate was an example of the law of retaliation afterwards re-enacted, Lev. xxiv. 18 ff.; the use of the jubilee periods was taught by Enoch to his contemporaries; Noah does all in accordance with the Mosaic Law, offering sacrifice of the appointed animals, and first-fruits and drink-offerings. The law of tithes is established from the time of Abraham, who also celebrated the Feast

of First-fruits and of Tabernacles, and made it an ordinance for ever according to Lev. xxiii. 34 ff. Abraham anticipates the special instructions concerning laying salt on the sacrifice, using certain wood for the fires,<sup>1</sup> purifications, and washings. The prohibition against intermarrying with the Canaanites was originally uttered by the same Patriarch; and the rule concerning the betrothing of the elder daughter before the younger was transcribed in the heavenly tables, which also enacted the punishment of death for Israelites guilty of mixed marriages or harlotry. The Day of Atonement on the tenth day of the seventh month (Lev. xxiii.) was established by Jacob in memory of the loss of Joseph. Joseph resisted the temptation of Potiphar's wife because he knew of the eternal law against adultery which had been delivered to Abraham and transmitted by him to his children; and Judah's sin with his daughter-in-law Tamar led to the statute against such incestuous unions and the punishment of them by fire. It was at the Feast of Tabernacles that Levi was consecrated to be priest by his father in Bethel, when "he clothed him in sacerdotal robes, and filled his hands," offering very ample sacrifices, and assigning to him from that day forward not only the first-fruits but also the second tithe which was now introduced.

Having given the above sketch of the contents of our Book we may now briefly examine the author's teaching upon certain points of doctrine, and then we shall be better able to come to some conclusion concerning the aim and tendency of the document.

The teaching concerning angels and demons is in many respects such as is found elsewhere. The Angel of the Presence and his companions convey God's will to men, instruct them

<sup>1</sup> There are some fourteen trees mentioned whose wood may be used in the sacrificial fire (ch. xvi.). Many of these cannot be identified. A wood offering is spoken of Neh. x. 34, xiii. 31. Abraham's incense consists of the seven substances mentioned in Ecclus. xxiv. 15.

in all useful knowledge of things in heaven and in earth, and execute God's wrath against sinners. The serpent is not identified with Satan in the account of the Fall. The great flow of iniquity overspreading the earth is traced to the intercourse of angels with the daughters of men, which introduced a race of beings gigantic in stature as in wickedness. And when God determined to destroy men with the flood, he punished the sinning angels by confining them in the depths of the earth till the great day of judgment. But a race of evil demons sprang from them,<sup>1</sup> who vexed and deceived and tortured the sons of Noah so grievously that they came to their father and asked his intercession to free them from their malice. And Noah prayed to God to check their power and withhold them from having dominion over the righteous seed. And the Lord commanded His angels to take and bind them and cast them into the place of torment. But Mastema,<sup>2</sup> the chief of the demons, requested that some might be left to execute his will in the earth; and God permitted one-tenth of them to remain, reserving the rest for the place of judgment. And to counteract the diseases which the demons had introduced among mankind, one of the good angels taught Noah the use of medicines and the virtues of herbs, all which lore he wrote in a book and imparted to his son Shem before his death. There is some appearance of a classification of angels in *Lepto-Genesis*. The highest is the Angel of the Presence, who leads the Israelites in the pillar of fire and cloud; the second are the archangels, or the angels of blessing; the third are the angels of the elements, who direct the powers of nature. These were all created on the first day with the

<sup>1</sup> The same idea is found in the Book of Enoch xv. 8-10.

<sup>2</sup> Mastema is often mentioned in *Lepto-Genesis*, generally with the epithet "supreme," "highest." The Hebrew word Mastemah is found in Hos. ix, 7, 8, in the sense of "hatred," where the LXX. translate *μῆτις* and Aquila *lynéness*. The word in the Ethiopian is written Mastema, in the Latin Mastima, and in later Greek Mastiphat. In the Apocryphal *Act. Apost.* (ed. Tischend. Lips., p. 98) the form is Mansemat.

heaven and earth (ch. ii.); and their agency is introduced on every occasion. Nothing happens or is done without their co-operation. They bring men's sins before God. Adam was indebted to them for learning his work in Eden, Enoch for his knowledge of all things in heaven and earth. It was they who bound the fallen angels, taught Noah the use of feast days, presided at the division of the earth among his sons, came to inspect the Tower of Babel. Abram was called by an angel to the Land of Promise, and instructed in the Hebrew tongue; by an angel was his hand arrested at the sacrifice of Isaac. Angels unfold the future to Abram and to Jacob, save Moses at the inn from the demon who thought to slay him, bring to naught the devices of the Egyptian magicians.

Concerning the immortality of the soul very little is said, nothing concerning the resurrection. Speaking of the prosperity of Israel in the latter days, the writer observes (ch. xxiv.): "They shall see the punishment of their enemies, and their bones shall rest in the earth, but their spirit shall have much peace, and they shall know that the Lord is He who keeps justice and shows mercy on hundreds and thousands and on all who love Him." If, as is probable, the author wished his work to be acceptable to all his countrymen without regard to sects and parties, the omission of a tenet repudiated by the powerful sect of the Sadducees may be accounted for.

The idea of a personal Messiah is nowhere recognised. Moses is told to write the account of his revelation for the use of posterity, "till the Lord should descend and dwell with them for ever and ever, and His sanctuary should be raised in their midst, and He Himself should be seen by them, that all might know that He is the God of Israel" (ch. i.). So in "The Assumption of Moses" the seer looks forward to no earthly monarch nor heaven-sent delegate who should fill the throne of David and lead the people to victory, but he

expects the manifestation of Jehovah Himself, as in the wilderness of old, guiding and ruling with some evident token of His presence. In *Lepto-Genesis*, Zion is to be the seat of this Epiphany; for "in the new creation Zion shall be sanctified, and through it shall all the world be purified from guilt and uncleanness for ever and ever" (ch. iv.). And as for Israel, it is written and firmly established, that if they turn to the Lord in righteousness, He will remove their guilt and forgive their sin, "and compassion shall be shown to all who turn from all their misdeeds once a year" (ch. v.), *i.e.* on the Day of Atonement. In another place (ch. xv.) the author says, that God has appointed no one to reign over Israel, neither spirit nor angel, but that He Himself is their only Lord and Sovereign. Other nations have their appointed guardian angels and depend less directly upon God for government, but Israel is guided and protected by the immediate interference of the Lord.<sup>1</sup> He is the first-born, chosen out of all the peoples, selected to be the depositary of the law, and bound to mark his superiority to the rest of the world by the observance of the Sabbath and the rite of circumcision. In his family is the race of priests who intercede with God for all flesh and do Him acceptable service. The writer is copious in enunciating the pre-eminence of his people, and looks forward to a time when, as a reward for their repentance and renewed adherence to God, they should triumph over their enemies and reign supreme in the earth. What is to become of the rest of the world is nowhere definitely expressed, as in pursuance of his plan the seer was not bound to extend his gaze beyond the occupation of the Promised Land and the results consequent thereon; and if he looks forward to a time when Israel shall revolt from God and disobey His law, he is really recalling the warnings given in Deuteronomy with only faint allusion to the events of later times or the prospects of a dim futurity. At the same time the narrow insularity of the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Deut. xxxii. 8, 9, 12 Sept., and Ecclus. xvii. 17.

writer, and his contempt for and hatred of other nations, are continually appearing in his pages, so that what Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) says of the feeling of the Jews may certainly be predicated of our author: "Adversus omnes alios hostile odium." Ammon and Moab, the Edomites and Amorites, are exhibited as the enemies of God's people, the object of Heaven's curse, and doomed to destruction. The feud with the Canaanites dates from very early times. They were to be exterminated not merely for their enormous wickedness which cried aloud for chastisement, but chiefly because Canaan the son of Ham seized on the region from Lebanon to the brook of Egypt which appertained to the inheritance of Shem, thus dispossessing the righteous seed. While Israel was under God's immediate rule and guidance, other nations were governed not merely by guardian angels, but by demons who alienated them from the Lord. And the reward of Israel's repentance is to be found in the utter subjection of enemies and the heavy punishment inflicted on subject peoples.

Inflated with the notion of the superiority of Israel, the author can ill admit errors in the conduct of the chief fathers of the race, and takes pains to palliate the faults which are attributed to them in the canonical accounts, or to pass them over in silence. Thus Abram's deceit in the matter of Sarai at the court of Pharaoh is left unrecorded, while various particulars of his early piety, learning, and devotion, not mentioned in Genesis, are painted in glowing colours. In Isaac's question to Jacob the omission of the name Esau—"Art thou my very son?" and his answer, "I am thy son"—clears Jacob from a verbal falsehood; just as the alteration in Gen. xlv. 15, mentioned above, is intended to secure Joseph from the charge of practising divination. Isaac repents of his partiality for Esau and learns to regard Jacob as his true son and heir; so Jacob in late life loves and honours Leah, having freely forgiven the treacherous part



which she once had played. His piety is exhibited in every circumstance of his life ; when he flees from Laban, he prays and worships the God of his fathers before he sets forth ; he affords a pattern of filial devotion by his obedience to his parents, and the care he takes in ministering regularly to their wants. Not to weary the reader with particulars, one can say shortly that the book is filled with the glorification of the Patriarchs, who were represented as adorned with every virtue, and as genuine Israelites, observers of the Mosaic law, moral and ceremonial.

A few words may now be added concerning the object and intention of this treatise. The aim of the writer is not difficult to define. In the first place, he evidently desired to explain difficulties which had met him in reflecting on the statements of Scripture. Some things had been misunderstood ; he would interpret them aright. Some things were obscure ; he would make them clear. Some omissions occurred ; he would supply the missing links. Some points were only hinted at or too briefly stated ; he would develop these intimations into complete and well-rounded statements. Especially seemed the glosser's hand to be needed in arranging the chronology of the patriarchal times. In this matter, however, as we have shown above, he has not been uniformly successful, his arithmetic being sometimes faulty and landing him in impossible results. As he claims credit for his statements on the ground of a heavenly revelation, we should be inclined to attribute these errors to copyists ; but unfortunately they are of such frequent occurrence, and many of them are so interwoven with the narrative, that they must be assigned to the author's carelessness or his inability to keep in hand all the links of his long history.

Another object was in the writer's mind. Around the sacred record of Genesis and Exodus had arisen a rank growth of legends, additions, and traditionary statements ; some features of biblical characters were exaggerated, the

merest hints were expanded into detailed narratives, and saga took the place of the simple authentic accounts. In the Alexandrian school persons and events were idealized into abstractions, and became merely metaphors and pictures of vices and virtues. The Book of Jubilees recalls men from these speculations to plain historical, or quasi-historical, facts. It makes the heroes of the Bible living characters. Discarding much legendary matter, it claims for the narrative, with its many additions to the sacred text, a supreme importance, and tells the tale of the Patriarchs in an authoritative style which enforces acceptance, and with such amplification as requires no further increment. It aims to be a popular work, such an one as would seize upon the mind of the less instructed, whether Jews or proselytes, and hold them to their faith by fear as well as reverence. Hence come the exaggerated penalties for certain common offences, and the claim of primitive revelation for many peculiarly Jewish observances. Compared with the heavenly origin and hoar antiquity of Jewish customs, morals, and ritual, all other religions were inferior and of no account; and the Hebrew must be known among all nations by his strict adherence to the precepts of his forefathers. Having this object in view, the writer takes special pains to enforce certain portions of the Mosaic law, both by glorifying its origin and by denouncing vengeance on its infringement. Notably is this the case with the law of sacrifice and offering. He is most particular in showing the customs of the earliest Patriarchs in this matter, how that they never failed to make offerings on every suitable occasion, how that Abraham delivered to Isaac most stringent commands concerning sacrifice, and how highly honoured was Levi as the father of the priestly family. In other cases the inculcation of a command goes far beyond Scripture in strictness. The man who eats blood shall be utterly destroyed, he and his seed for ever, as long as the earth exists (ch. vi.). The father who gives his daughter, or he who gives his sister, in

marriage to a heathen shall be stoned to death, and the wife shall be burned with fire (ch. xxx.). The Sabbath is broken even by speaking of taking a journey, or of buying and selling, by lighting a fire, by drawing water, etc.,<sup>1</sup> and the offender is to be put to death. A second tithe is due to the Lord, and must be paid for ever by all true Israelites. Only certain named (ch. xxi.) woods are to be used for the fire of the burnt-offering. The Feast of Tabernacles is to be celebrated with garlands on the head, and with a procession round the altar seven times on every day of the festival. There is a multitude of other strict and irksome enactments which, as they were in force in the time of our Lord, justified His saying of the scribes and Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 4): "They bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders." But all these observances were enjoined by our author with the view of differentiating his own people from all other nations, and raising them to the highest eminence as specially favoured by God and bound to uphold their just prerogatives. They were subject to many perilous attractions at this time. Greece with its science and culture, Rome with its might and supremacy, alike drew away adherents from Hebraism. Many had become ashamed of their religion and their very nationality. Herod's party was Jewish only in name. It may be that the teaching, miracles, and example of Christ had also begun to move men's minds. All these dangers required some counteracting energy to resist their influence. Our author offers his book as a panacea. Evidently he desires to reanimate the spirit of Judaism which he saw to be endangered by contact with its surroundings; and taking no prominent side in the contest of parties, he wishes to combine all true Israelites together in resistance to the worldly or heathen influences around them, which were undermining the faith of the people and introducing laxity

<sup>1</sup> Among Sabbath-breakers is reckoned, according to Dillmann's version, "der bei seinem Weibe schläft," a deduction from Ex. xix. 15.

and innovation, and to unite under one banner the divided elements of the holy nation, "till the sanctuary of the Lord should be raised on the hill of Sion, and the portion of Israel should be holiness, and peace, and blessing, from henceforth and for ever" (ch. i.).

W. J. DEANE.

## THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

(GRATULATORY PREAMBLE CONTINUED.)

VER. 13. *And I do not wish you to be unaware, brethren, that I frequently purposed to come to you, and was hitherto hindered, my aim being that I might have some fruit among you too, as well as among the other Gentiles.* He had not only desired to visit Rome: time after time his desire had culminated in resolution. See Acts xix. 21. But the pressure that was on his spirit to preach the gospel to those who were the most necessitous, led him, once and again, and yet again, to postpone his contemplated visit to the Roman capital. Others seemed to have a prior and more urgent claim. See chapter xv. 20–22. His aim, all along, had vaulted far above his own æsthetic gratification, and even beyond his own spiritual comfort, and the comfort and edification of his Roman brethren. It contemplated the salvation of the unsaved. He desired to get into contact with those who were round about the Christians, that they too might yield a contingent to the growing multitude of the believing. This was the motive that comprehended and absorbed all the subsidiary motives that from time to time stepped forward and struck into music and harmony the chords of his heart. He desired to have some fruit, some *pleasant product of his ministry*, in the conversion of the unconverted.

The expression rendered *in you* in the English Revised Version, is more idiomatically translated *among you* in King James's Version, as also in Luther's and Tyndale's, Myles Coverdale's and Calvin's. It is rendered evident, by verses 14, 15, 16, that the Apostle was contemplating something

more radical than "comfort," or any other "spiritual gift of grace," that might be communicated to the existing Christian community. See on verses 11 and 12. It was on the outlying wastes of the surrounding wilderness that he was wishful to operate; so that when he says, *that I may have some fruit 'in' you*, he refers to an extensive circuit, in the midst of which the existing saints were living and moving and having their being. The '*in*' you is really, so far as our English idiom is concerned, '*among*' you.

Ver. 14. *Both to Greeks and to Barbarians, both to the enlightened and to the ignorant, am I a debtor.* The Apostle owed them the preaching of the gospel, so far as the reach of his finite nature would permit. His commission embraced not merely the humbler nationalities and classes, but likewise those of the highest capacity and culture. He owed the gospel "to Greeks as well as to Barbarians, to the enlightened as well as to the ignorant." It is agreeable to our idiom to insert the article before the adjectives *enlightened* and *ignorant*, or *wise* and *senseless*. Luther, somewhat too freely, gives *un-Greeks* as his rendering for the word *Barbarians*. It was not so much the Apostle's aim to show the full extent of his apostolic diocese, as to make clear to the Romans that they were not excepted from its scope. His diocese comprehended all kinds of Gentiles, however high their capacity and culture, or however humble in the scale of natural and acquired intelligence. We are not to regard the Apostle as intentionally including the Romans among the Greeks. Nor, speaking as a self-conscious Jew, would he assign to them a place among Barbarians. Of course he would not for a moment impress upon them as a stigma the characterization of *ignorant* or *foolish* or *senseless*. He claimed to have in his apostolic brief not only the humblest specimens of human nature, but likewise the highest. Hence he had his own peculiar gateway into the very heart of the city of Rome.

Ver. 15. *So*, a correlative term. The preceding relative,

if formally shaped out and presented, would involve a repetitious reconstruction of the statement immediately preceding, to this effect, '*As* I am debtor both to Greeks and to Barbarians, both to the enlightened and to the ignorant, 'so,' etc. The correlative might here be freely replaced by an illative, and rendered *hence* or *wherefore*.

*I am eager to preach the gospel even to you who are in Rome.* The Apostle's complex expression, corresponding to our English statement, *I am eager*, has a nicety in it which cannot, without a circumlocution, be reproduced in our English idiom, *I, as far as I am concerned, am eager* (τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον, suppl. ἐστίν). He was *willing*, and *ready*, and *eager*. It takes a fusion of this triplicity of English adjectives to represent the full force of the one term employed by the apostle. When he said, *I am willing and ready and eager to preach the gospel even to you who live in Rome*, he assumed that believers of the gospel will be blessed by the repetition and re-repetition of the gospel. In its roots, and in its blooms and fruits, as in its intermediate fibres, it is a thing of vast complexity, as truly as it is, in some of its most practical applications, an object of grand simplicity. Its import, therefore, will not be readily exhausted. It is not like some capacious cistern of divine grace. If cistern it were at all, it would be in danger of being exhausted. But it is a never-ceasing fountain of living waters, always overflowing, and consequently always fresh. No wonder, therefore, that the apostle should wish to preach the gospel to his Roman brethren. But still it is probable that when he says, *I am eager to preach the gospel even to 'you,'* he merges, for the moment, the consideration of their membership in the Christian Church in his consideration of their citizenship in the imperial city. He was ready and eager, in accordance with the wide and varied compass of his commission, to preach the gospel even to the Romans, however distinguished for Greek-like wisdom, and whatever might

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be the reception accorded him, even though he should be subjected, as Chrysostom expresses it, to "snowstorms of trials."

#### THE GRAND DOCTRINAL THEME OF THE LETTER (VERSES 16, 17).

While the Epistle to the Romans is an epistle and not a formal dissertation, it is yet to a considerable extent characterised by some of the best features of a well-constructed essay. Pervaded by that elasticity of connection and ease of transition, which are the prerogatives of epistolary composition, it was nevertheless addressed to a community to whom the writer was a personal stranger. The special spiritual experience of that community was probably unknown to him; and therefore the general exposition and application of the great moral problems, of which the gospel is the solution, naturally take the place, in the Apostle's communication, of the more miscellaneous details of instruction, advice, remonstrance, and warning, which might, in other circumstances, have been expected. Hence the letter is, to a noteworthy extent, something like *a system of evangelical divinity*. A just interpretation of it must go far to determine the ultimate phasis of the entire science of theology.

The 16th and 17th verses contain the thesis, or theme, or principal proposition, which is expounded, established, enforced, and applied in the remainder of the more systematic and argumentative part of the epistle, extending to the conclusion of the 11th chapter. This thesis is not modelled with stiff formality, or laid down with rigid dialectic precision. It is a reality nevertheless, skilfully introduced, and happily enunciated in the free and easy style which befitted an earnest epistle addressed to a highly respected Christian community.

Ver. 16. *For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.* This is the clause by means of which the writer effects his transition from the gratulatory preamble of the epistle to the great



doctrinal theme. The appended expression, *of Christ*, assumed and stereotyped in the Erasmian or Received Text, is omitted by all the great critical editors. It had crept in from an excellent but casual jotting in the margin.

When the Apostle says that he is *not ashamed*, he realizes that sneers, similar to those that were showered upon him in Athens, might require to be accepted by him in Rome. He was prepared for the trial. He had good reason not merely "not to be ashamed of," but to "glory" in the gospel; and particularly in its subject-matter, the object of its act.

*For it is the power of God.* Luther renders the clause indefinitely, "a power of God." Unhappily. Yet he has been followed by Hofmann, Weizsäcker, Volkmar, and many others. There is nothing in the original corresponding to our indefinite article. Neither, on the other hand, is there the presence of the definite article, "*the* power of God." We can reproduce to a nicety, in our English idiom, the peculiarity of the original Greek, "God's power." The reference is not to God's omnipotence. It is some phase of God's ethical power of which the Apostle thinks and speaks. It is God's power *unto salvation* or *for salvation*, His power for saving sinful men, His mighty moral lever for lifting up the fallen, and elevating them into a higher, brighter, nobler style of existence. Such is "the gospel," the one transcendent message of mercy, that is destined to be heralded into every corner of the habitable world. Its power is in its subject-matter. Its subject-matter is the redemptive work of the incarnated Saviour. Or, going 'back of that,' we may say that it is the compassionating love of God, or His propitious and forgiving mercy. Many-sided is the grand reality, of which the gospel is the heraldic announcement.

*Salvation.* When the word is employed in its full acceptance, it denotes that *everlasting deliverance from the penal consequences of unrighteousness, which is indissolubly combined with the everlasting enjoyment of the glory, or the bliss, which is the*

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*reward of righteousness.* This is "the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory" (2 Tim. ii. 10). It is "everlasting life" (John iii. 16), or "glory and honour coupled with immortality" (Rom. ii. 7). Earnests of it are experienced on earth, and indeed immediately on the occurrence of faith; but its fulness is hereafter and on high. The believing *are being saved even now*, and indeed *are now saved* (Acts ii. 47; 1 Cor. i. 18, xv. 2; Eph. ii. 5, 8, etc.), but it is only "inchoately." They are "saved by hope," or so saved as to have the fulness of their salvation an object of hope (Rom. viii. 24). Hence it is only those that "endure to the end" who "shall be saved" (Matt. x. 22). *Their salvation is "ready to be revealed in the last time"* (1 Pet. i. 5). The Christian warrior has for an helmet, not so much the *actual possession* as "*the hope*" of *salvation* (1 Thess. v. 8, 9). It is "in the day of the Lord Jesus" that "*the spirit shall be saved*" (1 Cor. v. 5). They who are now justified by Christ's blood may rest assured that, "if they hold the beginning of their confidence stedfast unto the end" (Heb. iii. 14), they *shall* by and by, and for ever, "*be saved from wrath through Him*" (Rom. v. 9). This full salvation is the opposite of "everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and the glory of His power" (2 Thess. i. 9; Phil. i. 28; Matt. xxv. 46). Its completion consists in an everlasting conjunction with Christ in the fulness of His joy (Rom. viii. 17, 29, 30; Ps. xvi. 11; John xvii. 24).

Theologically considered, salvation in its fulness is the summation of forgiveness and justification combined, and is to be distinguished from sanctification; which, however, is something greater, grander, and more glorious still, consisting, as it does, of ethical assimilation to God. Luther's constant translation of the word which we render *salvation* is *Seligkeit* or *blessedness*. Though a partial and therefore imperfect rendering, it is nevertheless an admirable reproduction of the essence of the peculiar New Testament term. The gospel, with the living Christ in the heart of it, the Christ "alive for evermore,"

is God's power for lifting men up from the mire of degradation into *blessedness*. Hence it is the case that Jesus Himself is "God's power" (unto salvation) (1 Cor. i. 24).

*To every one who believeth.* Who believeth what? Doubtless *the gospel itself*. When Jesus began His career of preaching, He said to the people, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and *believe the gospel*" (Mark i. 14, 15). And when, at His second coming, He shall "take vengeance on them who obey not the gospel," "he shall"—says the Apostle—"be admired in all them that *believe*, because *our testimony among you was believed*" (2 Thess. i. 8-10). The gospel is a testimony or message, and as such is the appropriate object of belief or faith. It is the primary object, not the secondary and ultimate. The secondary and ultimate (the *objectum quod* as distinguished from the *objectum quo*) is the finished work of the Saviour; or otherwise, and more gloriously still, it is the Divine Worker Himself, the living Redeemer and Saviour in His wonderful undertaking and success. This glorious ultimate Object of faith is reached through the medium of the primary object, the testimony concerning Him, the report, the message, the good news, the gospel. We think of Him by means of the divine testimony concerning Him. Our faith is a species of thought. By means of it the sinner is made acquainted with the Saviour and His atoning work; and thus there is a gateway into the consciousness for the entrance of the mightiest ethical motives. The play of these motives, when once they are welcomed by the secret freewill, issues in progressive sanctification; and hence, anticipatory to such ethical result, forgiveness of sins, and justification, and a heritage of glory, are divinely conferred on the instant of the occurrence of faith. Musculus draws attention to the fact that the Apostle does not simply say to *him who believeth*, but to *every one who believeth*. The universal term was a favourite with the Apostle. He delighted to view the adaptation of the gospel to the spiritual wants of all without

distinction, whatever their nationality, their station, their culture, or their former character.

*To the Jew first, and to the Greek.* This specification is controlled by the enumerative phrase which goes immediately before, viz. *to every one that believeth*,—a phrase which represents a reality, whether the hypothetical believer be a Jew or a Gentile. The Apostle specifies the “Greek” representatively; and to the Hebrew he accords the distinction of being “first” in relation to the privilege that is realized in the preaching of the gospel. The precedence referred to has relation exclusively to an order of time. It was befitting that the Hebrew apostles should begin their labours of love among those who were their nearest neighbours,—their countrymen.

Ver. 17. *For.* The Apostle proceeds to account for the power of the gospel to save. *God's righteousness is revealed in it.* One of the ripest and richest yet most peculiar of biblical seed-thoughts. The expression *God's righteousness* should not be rendered either ‘*a*’ *righteousness* or ‘*the*’ *righteousness of God*. Our English expression *God's righteousness* exactly covers the Greek phrase, without overlapping on the one hand, or shrinking-in on the other. The *righteousness* referred to, though expressly designated *God's righteousness*, is yet not that righteousness in virtue of which He Himself is righteous. It is righteousness which is conditioned on *faith in Christ* (Rom. iii. 22; Phil. iii. 9). It is consequently righteousness that belongs to believers of the gospel, and is their title to everlasting bliss. *Christ was made sin for us*,—so runs the good news,—*in order that all who are willing to be believers, and who do actually become believers, “might become in Him God's righteousness”* (2 Cor. v. 21). It is a strong representation. But note the confirmatory quotation from Habakkuk, *He who is righteous by faith, or from faith, shall live.* God's righteousness is in believers. It is in them as their possession. They have not

however wrought it out in their own persons. They have not earned it. Nevertheless it is theirs—theirs by God's grace and gift.

It is noteworthy that this righteousness, besides being represented as originating in God, so as to be God's own possession (*δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*), is also spoken of as the righteousness that is "from God" (*ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνη*). See Phil. iii. 9. It is not immanent in Him, for it is not needed by Him to be part and parcel of his own infinite perfection. Not being the righteousness which constitutes Him righteous in His own ethical character, it is His righteousness for unrighteous men. It is "from" Him as being *provided for them*. Hence it was not from everlasting, though now it will be to everlasting. It will be enjoyed by those who believe the glad tidings concerning it; and mighty will be its ethical effect; for it is peculiarly noteworthy that the Apostle ascribes the might of the moral leverage that is in the gospel to the fact that therein is revealed this provision of righteousness. Not only therefore is there this righteousness: it is the very soul of the gospel. It being the case, moreover, that it is Christ who is the Saviour of men, it follows that He must sustain some peculiarly intimate relationship to this righteousness of God. What may that be? What might be His action in reference to its provision for men's benefit? Could it be the case that it was He who wrought it out, and brought it in? Do we not read that "Christ is the end of the law *for righteousness* to every one that believeth"? (Rom. x. 3). Might not the Apostle's thesis, then, have run thus:—"The gospel is the power of God for salvation to every one who believeth, *for therein is there a revelation of Jesus Christ the Righteous as a Saviour for sinners*"? The expression was not luminous to the eye of Luther at the commencement of his monastic career; and hence, as he tells us, he was frightened for it. He "hated" it, because it seemed to rivet the sentence of

his condemnation. But at length, after much protracted self-crucifixion, a new light dawned to him within the phrase. He saw that the expression was not intended to be against the sinner, but for him. "Hereupon," says he, "I felt immediately that I was wholly born anew, and had now found, as it were, a widely opened door into paradise itself." "Thus," adds he, "as heretofore I had heartily hated the expression, so now, on the contrary, I began to esteem it as my most beloved and most comfortable word of Scripture; and in truth it became to me the very gate of paradise" (*Jehovah Zidkenu*, pp. 6, 7). Luther translated the phrase, in his German Bible, *the righteousness that availeth before God*. Though an inexact version philologically, it is admirable theologically. That which availeth before God as the *causa meritoria* of human salvation, is represented in Scripture sometimes as a *ransom*, sometimes as a *sacrifice*, sometimes as a *propitiation*; but here, more ethically, as *God's righteousness*. The divine Saviour, appearing in our human nature, has done for us what we ourselves should have done. What He did is spotless, meritorious, everlasting righteousness. It is revealed in the gospel as God's method of saving unrighteous men.

*Revealed.* The gospel is the verbal transcript of the realities of Christ's life and death. The Being whose voice it is has read, with infinite accuracy, the glorious facts; and thus the righteousness is revealed, not in the inspirations of the human conscience, nor in the speculations of human philosophy, nor in the evolutions of human history, but in the simplicity of the gospel.

*From faith to faith.* The Apostle's representation is somewhat crowded, and therefore stands in need of analytic disintegration in order to synthetic integration. The phrase *from faith* or *by faith* is not to be grammatically connected with the expression *God's righteousness*. It is to be construed with the immediately preceding verb *is revealed*. But yet,

in the substance of the Apostle's thought, it is not the revelation that is *from* or *by* faith, but the thing revealed, viz. *God's righteousness*. So that the Apostle's idea might, with the help of a repetitive element, understood though not expressed, be unfolded thus,—*God's righteousness is revealed in the gospel as righteousness by faith*. The *as*, introduced to carry out the repetition, is what grammarians call the '*as*' of *reality* (comp. John i. 14). The righteousness is attainable "*from* faith" because it is attainable "*through* faith," or "*by* faith." The instrumentality of faith is postulated. The Apostle adds "*to* faith;" not that the principle of successive degrees is to be imported into the twofold expression, after the model of 2 Cor. iii. 18, "*from* glory to glory." Nor is it intended that it should be understood cumulatively, as denoting *faith from first to last*, or, as Bengel graphically gives it, *faith as both stem and stern* (fides est prora et puppis). The language has got crowded. But as the first clause is logically, though not grammatically, dependent on the preceding expression *God's righteousness*, so the second is both logically and grammatically dependent on the verb *is revealed*. *The saving righteousness of God, attainable through faith, is revealed in the gospel "for* faith," or "*in order to* faith." It is revealed that it may become the object of faith, and thus the means of salvation.

*As it stands written*, viz. in Habakkuk ii. 4, *The righteous by faith shall live*. It is Luther's version which we have given in the introductory expression, *as it stands written*. It is finely idiomatic. As to the quotation itself, the Apostle, while consciously thinking his own thoughts, and moulding them according to the representations of our Lord's teaching, as these were handed about in primitive Christian society, yet oftentimes draped his ideas in Old Testament phraseology; and, as in the case before us, he sometimes sought to authenticate them by express appeal to the Hebrew Scriptures. The true inter-relationship of the words in Habakkuk's

apothegm has, unhappily, been frequently misapprehended; and, as by others, so by Luther and Tyndale. It has been supposed that the expression *by faith* should be construed, not with the adjective *righteous*, but with the verb *shall live*. But this view of the inter-relationship of the phrases is by no means the most natural construction, taking the position of the words into account. Then it is at variance with the rhythmic accentuation of the Masoretes, though that fact is not of great significance. It is of greater moment to note that the use which the Apostle makes of the apothegm demands the assumption that he regarded the prophet as emphasizing, not the way in which a man will *live after he has become righteous*, but the way in which a man *may become righteous, so that thenceforward he may live*. If a man be characterised by righteousness, he is sure to have life, true life. "Say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him." The difficulty is not as to what shall be done, in God's great moral government, with the righteous. The difficulty is with the unrighteous. What shall be done with them? And, in particular, how may they, if willing and wishful, be so reinstated in righteousness, that they too may be partakers of true life? The oracle of Habakkuk answers the questions. "TAKE NOTE! HE WHOSE SOUL WITHIN HIM IS INFLATED—and self-elated—IS NOT RIGHT: BUT HE WHO IS RIGHTEOUS BY HIS FAITH—he who has righteousness from faith, righteousness emanating from faith, or issuing out of faith—HE SHALL LIVE."

This ethical and evangelical oracle was to be publicly placarded by the prophet, that "he who reads might run" and "flee for refuge." It is not a mere prudential warning to the Chaldeans on the one hand, or to the Israelites on the other. It is a grand Catholic pre-intimation of the everlasting gospel, set forth in antithesis to the persistent delusion of the ages. It might be paraphrased thus:—"TAKE HEED THAT HE WHOSE SOUL IS INFLATED WITH SELF-CONFIDENCE IN RE-



LATION TO TRUE BLISS IS NOT RIGHT; BUT HE WHO IS EMPTIED OF SELF, AND SELF'S FANCIED RIGHTEOUSNESS, AND WHO IS MEEKLY RIGHTEOUS BY MEANS OF HIS FAITH, SHALL LIVE, HE SHALL HAVE BLISS, AND THAT FOR EVER." The oracle is one of the lighthouses of Old Testament theology. It is one of the two passages in which the word "faith" is found in our English Version of the Old Testament. The other passage is Deut. xxxii. 20. It is of still greater interest to note that it is one of the two Old Testament oracles in which the Apostle found the fountains of his distinctive New Testament doctrine. The other oracle is the statement in Genesis xv. 6, "AND HE BELIEVED IN JAHVEH, AND HE COUNTED IT TO HIM FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS." (See, in particular, Hölemann's *Commentatio Exegetica de Justitiæ ex fide ambabus in vetere Testamento sedibus ter in Novo Testamento memoratis*). It is noteworthy that in the Vulgate Version of the oracle, the first member is freely rendered thus:—"Behold, he who is 'unbelieving'—his soul shall not be right in him" (*Eccē qui "incredulus" est, non erit recta anima ejus in semetipso*). Self-inflation and elation as regards righteousness, resolve themselves into "unbelief" in reference to the righteousness provided by God and graciously made known in the gospel of His forgiving love.

J. MORISON.

## CHRIST'S GLORIFYING WORK.

JOHN XVII. 4.

THERE are two aspects in which men have been prone to contemplate that remarkable valedictory discourse extending from the fourteenth to the sixteenth chapter of St. John. Some have viewed it as an expression of sadness; others as a burst of triumph. It seems to us that there are not wanting some plausible grounds for either view. On the one hand, the very fact that our Lord strives so strenuously to comfort His disciples is a proof that to His mind it was a season for disquietude; on the other, there are abundant evidences that His valedictory address to the world was not an utterance of unmixed sorrow, nay, that the fact of His departure was itself contemplated by Him as the world's ultimate gain. It seems to us, however, that the entire question regarding the mental attitude of our Lord in these three chapters has been reproduced within a narrower compass in the opening verses of chapter xvii. What was the spirit in which our Lord lifted up His eyes to heaven? Was it a spirit of depression, or was it a spirit of exultation? Is His the language of a conqueror who feels that His triumph is complete, or is it the utterance of a suppliant who knows that his task is yet to come? Either of these views may be taken, and either of them may be defended on exegetical grounds. Our own opinion is, that at one and the same moment both views are true. We believe that at this period of His earthly life the Son of man was standing on the border-line between two worlds—a world of the past and a world of the future. On the one hand, He was pervaded by a sense of retrospect; on the other, He was

dominated by a vision of events yet to come. His retrospect was full of peace and inward satisfaction; His prospect was not without clouds and fears. In His backward glance, His spirit felt triumphant through the sense of duty done; in His forward gaze, His heart was disposed to sink beneath the vision of a new approaching experience, an experience which in one sense is novel to every man and must have been specially new to the Son of man—the vision of death. Let us proceed to exhibit our view in more detail.

“I have glorified thee on the earth: I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do,” are the words in which our Lord seems to come before us in an attitude of triumph. It is evident that the triumph is one of retrospect; it is occasioned by a view of the past. The work which He declared to be finished was not what is popularly understood by the bearing of the cross; that was still to come; so far from being finished, it had not yet begun. It is true, it is in itself a conceivable thought that, notwithstanding its futurity, Christ might have spoken of it as an already accomplished fact. There have been men who have felt so keenly the presentiment of their coming greatness that they have been able to speak of it as something which has already come; that which is still in the future has become to them an impulse for the hour. But the slightest glance at the context of this passage must suffice to convince us that in the present instance it was not so, that whatever exultation now animated the mind of Jesus was an exultation purely derived from the contemplation of work already done. The whole tone of the passage is historical. “I have glorified thee, and now glorify thou me;” “while I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy name. And now I come to thee.” There is evidently in such utterances as these a poising of the past and the future, a comparison of what has been done with what is still to do. That in the mind of Jesus there is a

clear conviction that something has been done is beyond all question. In speaking of His finished work, He is speaking, not of a poetical, but of a real past. His eye is resting upon a world which His own steps have traversed, His heart is gladdened by a vision which His own experience has realized. He feels that in a certain sense He has reached a terminus, has come to a point of the way from which He is entitled to look back and qualified to measure the progress of the journey, and it is with the air of an actual conqueror, rather than with the enthusiasm of a dreaming poet, that He utters the words, "I have glorified thee on the earth, I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do."

Nevertheless it would be a great error to conceive that this passage represents the Son of man as occupied purely in the contemplation of the past. That He has the sense of something finished is beyond all doubt, but it is equally undoubted that He has also the sense of something unfinished. The whole construction of the passage precludes the notion that, in the view of the Son of man, there was no more to come. It is not too much to say that, in the representation of the evangelist, the sense of futurity occupies the foreground. If Christ reverts to the past, it is only incidentally, and as it were to furnish a plea for His divine prayer. He tells the Father what He has done only in order that the Father may do something in return. He declares that He has glorified God on the earth, but He is constrained to make this declaration by the consciousness that He is approaching an hour whose difficulties are not earthly and whose experiences will lie beyond any sphere of normal human nature, an hour when He shall require to give up His active work and become a passive recipient, and when the act of glorifying the Father will need to be supplemented by the Father glorifying Him. The soul of the Son of man is really more filled with the future than with the past, and His vision of the past is to

Him chiefly valuable as furnishing a hope for the future. What does He mean by the words: "I have glorified thee on the *earth*"? The expression has clearly an antithetical reference; it is intended to mark a boundary beyond which the experience of the Son of man has not yet travelled. The expressions of Scripture should be interpreted not only according to the analogy of faith, but according to the analogy of their respective authors. The same word may have a different shade of meaning in different minds, and it will be found that each mind will retain that shade of meaning. Now it so happens that St. John has a phrase which stands in his mind for the antithesis to the earth; it is "the lifting up from the earth" (John xii. 32). This, in his view, is not a phrase equivalent to heaven; he expressly states that he employs it as equivalent to death. It is according to this analogy that we must interpret the words of the Son of man in the passage before us. When He says, "I have glorified thee on the earth," He is thinking, by way of contrast, of a sphere in which He has not yet glorified the Father—the lifting up *from* the earth, the hour of death. This is the hour of which He speaks, and for support in which He prays: "Glorify thy Son, that thy Son may glorify thee." What is the glorification of Himself for which He asks? We are apt to read the words as if they were meant to embody a prayer for deliverance from the coming hour, for deliverance from that hour which the Son of man had expressly come to meet. Such a deliverance would have been no glorification; it would have been a defeat, a confession of failure, an abandonment of His human destiny, and therefore neither fitted to give glory to Him nor to reflect a glory on the Father who had sent Him. The glorification for which Christ prays is of another and a contrary order; it is not deliverance *from* the coming hour, but deliverance *in* the coming hour. What He asks is the influx of a new

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power to meet the new experiences, an increase of Divine strength to support Him in the intensified human exigency. He tells the Father that He can yield Him a higher glory in dying than He has ever yielded Him in living; that if He shall receive the strength adequate to pass through that solemn hour in which He shall be lifted up from the earth, He shall thereby offer a costlier sacrifice than ever yet has been given by man to God. He asks the glory of the Father's strength that He may yield back the glory of the Son's obedience: "Glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee."

Thus far we have drawn our materials entirely from the context of the passage itself. We have simply interpreted the natural and obvious sense of the words before us without reference to any theory and irrespective of any dogma. We must now, however, look at the matter psychologically; we must ask if there is any point in which the experience attributed to Christ in this passage has an analogy to the experience of common men. We must remember that however peculiar the work of Christ may have been, He really came to achieve the work which originally God had assigned to humanity as a whole, and that if His work was specially arduous and painful, it was only because He had to fill up that which was behind in the contributions of humanity. Remembering this, we shall naturally expect to find that the experience attributed to Christ in this passage can be illustrated by a somewhat parallel experience in the life of normal humanity, and we shall feel that the work of the Son of man is rendered not less but more precious by revealing itself as the complement of a work which the Father has assigned to the sons of men.

Looking then at human life as a whole, we find that there are three distinct factors involved in its manifestation—being, doing, and suffering. The verb *to live* has three

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voices—neuter, active, and passive—and the utterance of each of these voices is the fulfilment of a work which God has given to man. Human life begins with what we have called the neuter voice. Its early years may be said to be a revelation of simple being, of being as distinguished from action on the one hand and from suffering on the other. It is impossible to say where the stage of being first passes into the stage of action; that is to say, it is impossible to put our hand upon a definite period which marks the point of transition between the child and the man. The period varies in different individuals. But although we may in no case be able to trace *where* the transition begins, we are able in every case to tell *how* it begins. There comes sooner or later a time in which it is no longer the duty of the life simply to *be*, but in which it becomes imperative for it to act and to do; and this second stage, however little its beginning is observable by the outward beholder, is very distinctly marked in the experience of each individual man. The stage of doing is distinguished from the stage of being by an act of choice or will. The hitherto uninterrupted flow of life is opposed by some barrier which makes it impossible for the river of life to run spontaneously any more. Henceforth it becomes imperative that life should be an effort, a struggle, a putting forth of conscious strength in order to overcome that barrier which resists its progress. And perhaps the most important act of the whole process is just the initial act of all—that choice of means which the life makes in order to achieve its end. The work which God has given man to *do*, as distinguished from the work He has given man to bear, is essentially an act of choice, the selection of an alternative. Yet even this second stage of life is itself only preliminary and preparatory to a third and higher stage—the period in which the doing gives place to the bearing. The age of manhood is commonly associated with the mani-

festation of strength, and it is rightly so. But it is a great mistake to suppose that the strength of manhood is mainly manifested in action; the chief field for its manifestation is the bearing of life's burdens. The strength of the man is distinguished from the strength of the youth chiefly by the weight of those materials which it is able to carry. Youth is essentially the time for action, the time in which the will makes its choice as to the path of life which it shall elect to follow; manhood is essentially the period of endurance, the period in which the will accepts the burdens which await it on the path it has chosen. Hence this third and final stage is incomparably the greatest of all; it not only transcends the other two, but it necessarily includes and presupposes them. It demands already in the soul a completed fulness of being, and it demands already in the will a completed determination of choice. No man can voluntarily bear a burden unless he has first surrendered his own will. The stage of doing must be finished before the stage of suffering can begin, and only he is fit to bear the cross who is able to say of his completed act of choice, "I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do."

These are the psychological facts of human life so far as they bear on the present subject. The point to be observed is that they *are* facts. They are neither theories nor fancies, but real phases of normal human experience. As such they are certainly entitled to a place in the consideration of the scientific interpreter. It is a great mistake to suppose that the office of the gospel interpreter ends with the determination of the meaning of a word or the syntax of a passage; strictly speaking it only begins there. The life of Christ comes before us professedly as a representative life, a life which represents human nature in its highest ideal. It is the part of the Biblical critic to interpret this life according to the analogy of that human nature of which it professes to be



the symbol and the consummation. Accordingly we are entitled to take these facts of human psychology into the interpretation of this very difficult and very remarkable passage in the experience of the Son of man. To him who has carefully read the gospel narrative it must be evident that the life of Christ, as delineated by the evangelists, divides itself naturally and logically into the same three periods which we have found in the life of humanity as a whole. It begins with the stage of simple being, a stage whose excellence is marked not by what it does but by what it becomes, and whose work is indicated and summed up in the suggestive words, "He grew in wisdom and in knowledge, and in favour with God and man." The close of this stage is perhaps the vision on the banks of Jordan, which has a retrospective as well as a prospective value. "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," is an utterance which seems to indicate that one part of the Messianic work had already been successfully accomplished. With the scene on the mount of temptation, the stage of simple growth or being may be said to close, and the stage of activity to begin. That activity is essentially a work to be performed by the will. The Son of man, like the sons of men, has to stand between the choice of two alternatives. Before Him, on the one hand, are to pass the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, the possibility of a life of outward power and splendour; and on the other is to be displayed a vision of that kingdom of God whose characteristic feature is its absence of outward power and splendour. These are the alternatives between which the Son of man has to choose, and in the choice of which consists the difference between His work of being and His work of doing. It was not an alternative between God and Satan; that would have required but little force of will on the part of Jesus. The temptation of the Son of man was really a choice between two modes of divine

action, either of which was in 'itself legitimate—the choice whether He would realize the ideal of the Jewish Messiah, or establish the kingdom of God upon an ideal the opposite of Jewish, whether He would reign by commanding or reign by serving. Let it not be thought that there were no plausible grounds for a mental struggle on such a question. If the Son of man had come into the world a few centuries earlier, it is not too much to say that it would have been His duty to have appropriated the Jewish ideal in preference to His own. It is impossible to reign by serving until the fulness of the time be come, and it is better that the kingdom of God should be established by force than not established at all. It was a fair subject for discussion in the heart of the Son of man, whether and to what extent the time was come for the new, the higher, and the more arduous ideal. The work which His Father had given Him to do was essentially the choice of a burden, an act of voluntary selection, whereby He was to appropriate a present pain in preference to an immediate joy, and was to choose the path of sacrifice instead of the road to outward dominion. When he had completed this act of choice, when he had thoroughly and finally decided to follow the new ideal in preference to the old, He justly felt that He had reached another terminus in His spiritual history, and He fitly expressed this sense of completeness in the words, "I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do."

Yet, here again, it must be remembered that the terminus was itself only a new departure; with the Son of Man, as with the sons of men, the stage of doing was only preliminary to the stage of bearing. He Himself distinctly indicates this in the passage before us. What is the connection between the words, "Father, the hour is come," and the words, "I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do"? It is clearly the connection of cause and effect. He means to

imply that he is now more prepared for the hour of bearing than he was before, from the fact that He has now completed the hour of doing. He feels that He is ripened for the task of lifting the burdens of others by the completion of that act of choice whereby He has surrendered His own will. The choice of a burden must precede the bearing of a burden; the one is the perfecting of activity, the other is the fulness of passive power.

And here we cannot but direct attention to what seems to us to be a remarkable Scripture parallel, a parallel which at once illustrates and confirms the view we have taken of this passage. It will be remembered that in a previous exposition of Hebrews ii. 9, we pointed out that in the view of the writer of that epistle, Christ before He could suffer had to be crowned with glory and honour, that the hour of death had to be preceded by an hour of living triumph, in which the Son of man should vindicate His claim to the possession of spotless purity. We saw that from the standpoint of this writer Christianity was distinguished from Judaism mainly by this, that while the offerings of the latter were sacrifices of death, the offering of the former was the sacrifice of a life. Death was in this case valuable, not in proportion to its painfulness, but in proportion to its voluntariness, in proportion to that which minimized its pain. Now we ask in what respect is this doctrine of the writer to the Hebrews distinguished from the doctrine proclaimed by the Gospel of St. John? Is not the one an exact transcript of the other? When the writer to the Hebrews says that before suffering death Christ had to be crowned with glory and honour, what is this but in other words to say that before His work of bearing could begin, there was another work which had to be finished? When, in St. John's Gospel, the Son of man exclaims, "Father, the hour is come, I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do," is He not just in different terms anticipating the

doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews? Is He not, in other words, declaring that He is now ready for His sacrifice, inasmuch as He has been crowned with that glory and honour without which His sacrifice would be vain, that He is now prepared to begin His suffering of death from the fact that He has reached the terminus of His struggle of life? It is from the triumph achieved in the act of living that He feels the hour has come in which He can manifest the strength of dying. He can suffer death not as a victim but as a conqueror, because His life has been already crowned with the glory and honour of a spotless purity. Thus marvellously and beautifully does the doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews coincide with the teaching of the fourth evangelist. In both we are confronted by a consistent picture, a picture true to the human facts in the life of the Son of man. We are made to understand why the life of the Son of man observed on earth that particular order in which it has historically come down to us. We see that it is by no accident that the vision on the banks of Jordan is followed by the temptation in the wilderness, and that the close of the struggle with the world is the prelude to the shadow of the cross. We see that to bear worthily that shadow the Son of man had to be twice crowned, had to be crowned with a twofold glory and honour. The perfection of the offering was in His case the perfection of the offerer, and that demanded a double spotlessness—the purity of being and the purity of action. He had to finish that work of spontaneous development which is the very ideal of the life of human childhood, but which the presence of a disturbing element has prevented ordinary childhood from being able to realize. He had to finish that yet more arduous work of deliberate voluntary action which has ever constituted the distinctive feature of the man, but which the natural weakness of the flesh has prevented the man from satisfactorily achieving. In the union of these two completed works the

Son of man reached the ripeness for that work the most arduous of all—the identification of His own life with the life of sinful humanity. By that act of surrender, whereby once and for ever He resigned His Messianic will, resigned His rightful privilege of seeking an individual empire, He prepared Himself for living an impersonal life in the sins and sorrows and burdens of His fellow-men, and it was the sense of that completed preparation which constrained Him, under the shadow of the cross, to say, “I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.”

GEORGE MATHESON.

## OUR LORD'S GROANING IN SPIRIT.

JOHN xi. 33.

## II.

WHAT we consider the right explanation is approached,—comes at least partially into sight,—when we say that our Lord was now, in view of the miracle He was about to work, with a holy indignation preparing and arming Himself against death.<sup>1</sup> We do not mean here death in its special aspect as “the wages of sin.” For we have to bear in mind that, as “death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned” (Rom. v. 13), there is a sense in which bodily dissolution itself is to be regarded as simply the manifested power of the divine anger;<sup>2</sup> and to say that our Lord’s wrath was directed against this, would be, in effect, to say that it was directed against that which was the manifestation of itself. It would, in other words, be wrath called forth against His own decree. The Psalmist (Ps. xc. 7), recognising the connection between suffering and death on the one hand, and the divine anger against sin on the other, says, “we are *consumed* in Thine anger, and in Thy *wrath* are we troubled. Thou hast set our *iniquities* before Thee, our secret sins in the light of Thy countenance.” Though we adopt the conclusion that bodily death pertains to the normal, necessary condition of man, it is none the less evident that it has assumed a new ethical significance by the fact of sin. If the whole form and meaning of man’s *life* has been reversed by the entrance of

<sup>1</sup> Cornelius a Lapide quotes here the saying of Cicero, applying it to our Lord, that anger is often the whetstone of courage. “*Ira enim est cos virtutis et fortitudinis.*”

<sup>2</sup> Man’s “*Sterben ist nichts anders als Gottes Zorn wider die sünd.*” Vid. Weber’s *Vom Zorne Gottes*, p. 104.

moral evil into our world, so equally has it been with his death.<sup>1</sup> It might have been, and, but for sin, would have been, an easy, painless passage from this world to another, as Hesiod<sup>2</sup> fabled of men in their state of primeval innocence, in the golden age, that they used to die without pain or bodily decay, but as if subdued by sleep :—

ὁ ἄνθρωπος δ' ὡς ὕπνου διδμημένος.

But by the universal presence of sin, death has become invested with a punitive character. It speaks now, in all the circumstances which attend it, of human transgression, and so, likewise, of divine wrath. It is in the strictest sense penal, although we are permitted to say of it, "howbeit our God has turned the curse into a blessing." The sting of death, in the conflict with the Prince of Life, being thrust into His side, has been lost there. It has no longer any power to punish over those who are "crucified together with Christ." We have to remember therefore that it is not this aspect of death, as the object of our Lord's anger, which here comes into prominence; it is rather death in the aspect of a universal, unconquerable destroyer—death as hostile to God's kingdom and its peace.<sup>3</sup> The Saviour was standing now in the very presence of its ravages. His all-embracing spirit, too, rose up from the isolated case before Him to the contemplation of all. He was gazing into "the skeleton face of the world," and tracing everywhere the reign of death. The whole earth to Him was but "the valley of the shadow of death," and in those tears which were shed in His presence, He saw that

"Ocean of Time, whose waters of deep woe  
Are brackish with the salt of human tears."

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Martensen's *Christliche Dogmatik*, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Works and Days*, 116.

<sup>3</sup> Delitzsch, on Hebrews ii. 14, well states the two aspects in which death presents itself to us, as these are alluded to above. He speaks of death as at once "eine richterliche Machtwirkung Gottes," and "eine gottfeindliche Machtwirkung des Teufels." It is the latter of these which is to be kept in view when we speak of our Lord's anger in the presence of death.

Hence, while there were, as we have observed already, abundant evidence of His sorrow (v. 35), there were also the clearly - expressed tokens of His wrath. Both are found appropriately together, the one being the natural complement of the other, just as once before we find it was, when "He looked round about with *anger*, being *grieved*" (Mark iii. 5). But this is not all. Behind the presence of death, there was the awful reality, not only of sin, "the sting of death," but also of him through whom sin came,—him who is in this Gospel so frequently called "the Prince of this world." If then we would rightly understand the true meaning of our Lord's wrath, His visibly-expressed indignation, we must regard Him here as confronting in conflict the great enemy of His kingdom,—the destroyer of the race which He Himself had come to save. It is only, we believe, at this stage of our discussion that we come face to face with the solution of the difficulty, which our theme presents. As at the beginning of His official life, in His temptation in the wilderness, so now at the close of it our Lord appears in near conflict with him who bears the name of *ὁ ἐχθρός* (Matt. xiii. 39), and who wields the power of the *ἔσχατος ἐχθρός* (1 Cor. xv. 26), that is death.<sup>1</sup> This view has the advantage of satisfying what some consider to be one of the conditions of the problem, for it has been frequently pointed out that the anger expressed by such a word as *ἐνεβριμήσατο* must be understood as directed against some personal enemy. There is indeed no absolute necessity for this, as reference to Matt. vii. 26, Luke iv. 39, at once shows; but, at the same time, the fact that this view does suggest such a personal adversary, is an "adminicle" in the evidence, an argument of some value in its favour. Our Lord, as He looked on this, and

<sup>1</sup> The Rabbins speak of Satan as the angel of death, *vid.* Wisd. ii. 24, and in Heb. ii. 14 he is called "the holder of the power of death," *ὁ κρατῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ θανάτου*. The genitive is there not the genitive subjecti, as Ebrard would have it, making the clause mean, "the power which death has over us," but the genitive objecti.



abroad on all other heart-desolation in the world, and in the contemplation thereof—

“As the whole woe billow-like broke on Him,”

knew that “an enemy hath done this;” and it was against this enemy that He here summoned forth His wrath.

But it may perhaps be objected here that in the whole record of this miracle there is no reference to this enemy to be found. There is, however, not much force in this objection; for although allusion to him be not directly expressed, his presence and the hostile influence of his kingdom are everywhere implied. With special distinctness can we trace such an allusion in verses 9 and 10. Whatever meaning we attach to these somewhat difficult words, there is little doubt that in accordance with the symbolical use of the terms in St. John's writings, the “day” and the “night” there refer to the two kingdoms—that of light and that of darkness, that of Christ and that of Satan, which are in ceaseless conflict with each other. As Rothe<sup>1</sup> well puts it, “Der Teufel ist in Gottes Welt eine nicht legitime und von Gotte anerkannte, aber *thatsächliche* Macht, die Gott nicht ignoriren kann.” And Weber's<sup>2</sup> words may be cited here as bearing somewhat directly upon this part of our subject:—“Als der Feind Gottes und seiner Schöpfung ist er ein Verderber im Gebiete der *σάφξ*. Auflösung, Zerstörung, göttlicher Werke ist seine Lust. Darum nennt ihn der Herr einen *ἀνθρωποκτόνος*. Damit greift er weit über den Brudermord Kains, auch weit über die Verführung zurück, in welcher das Todesurtheil über den Menschen verwirkt worden ist; sobald der Mensch in's Dasein tritt, ist auch Satan auf sein Verderben gerichtet . . . denn er (der Mensch) ist Gottes Geschöpf bestimmt für Gottes Reich, und darum schon ein Objekt der Verderbensvollen Absicht Satans.” If then, in accordance with the spirit of the passages just cited, we take along with us the thought

<sup>1</sup> *Vid. his Stille Stunden*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Vom Zorne Gottes*, p. 113.

that our Lord in this case recognised the presence and working of the arch-enemy himself, and that He, the Redeemer, came to ransom man from the power of the adversary—"to enter the strong man's house, and bind him, and spoil his goods" (Mark iii. 27),—we have the key which appears most easily to fit the locks of the problem. We discover in this way what at once explains the exceptionally mighty perturbation of spirit. It was, as it were, the throwing down of the gauntlet to the enemy of souls,—a "Get thee behind Me, Satan, for thou art an offence unto Me." Thus it was, that "His fury, it upheld Him," while He asked, in the midst of His tears, "Where have ye laid him?" and cried with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth." Thus it was that He girded Himself, in the words of Cornelius a Lapide, "*ad arduum cum morte duellum.*"<sup>1</sup>

This exposition, by no means unknown, as we have seen, to ancient and modern exegesis, admits of a very important development still. While we regard it as in the right direction, we think it may be carried somewhat farther. It does not appear that the passage would suffer any undue strain, were we to see in it the foreshadowing, and indeed the actual beginning of our Lord's final conflict with Satan

<sup>1</sup> This view of our passage is, upon the whole, well represented by Nicolaus Herman, the singer of many well-known quaint "*Kinder und Hauslieder*" (18th century). One of these hymns is a rhythmical version of this chapter. In it we read,—

"Jhesus in seinem Geist ergrimt,  
unser elend durchs Hertz Ihm dringt  
und thet Ihm weh das wir vom Feindt  
in den jammer gefuhret seindt."

*Vil.* Wackernagel's *Deutsche Kirchenlied*, vol. iii. p. 1213. We may remark here, that as the raising of Lazarus has been, throughout the entire history of the Church, a favourite subject for Christian Art (*vid.* the very interesting notices of its representation in painting and sculpture and on glasses in the Catacombs, in Northcote and Brownlow's *Roma Sotteranea*, vol. ii.), so it has been a frequently-selected theme of poetry,—*e.g.*, Prudentius, diptychon, xxxviii.; Adolph Kottgen's drama, *Lazarus von Bethanien*; Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, xxxi. xxxii.; and Browning, *Men and Women: an Epistle*. Especially, as in the case of Browning's poem, is Lazarus frequently portrayed as a Revenant, like Er the Pamphylian, in Plato's *Republic*, Book x.

in His own passion—"the hour and the power of darkness." Gumlich,<sup>1</sup> whose study of this chapter is throughout so exhaustive and satisfactory, expressly excludes this view, but he does so without at all assigning a reason. Let us see then what can be said in its favour. Our Lord had wrought miracles of this kind—the raising of the dead—before. But in the accounts we have of these miracles, we find no reference whatever to any outburst of holy anger similar to that which appears with so much prominence here. He must further have often refrained from working such miracles, when He saw sorrow in the presence of death, and "the mourners go about the streets." We have to seek, therefore, and if possible discover, the motive for His interposition in this case, and also for the display of anger which accompanied that interposition—that anger being, as we have said, a characteristic of this miracle only. In other words, why did He work this miracle at all, and why in working it did the presence of death and of him who has the power of death so affect Him? It can hardly be that He interfered for the simple reason that Lazarus was His friend—the object of His special regard and love (verses 3, 5, and 11). Nor can it be sufficient to say that His holy wrath was stirred within Him, because He saw death daring to touch the inner circle of His friendship, and that this threatening advance of the enemy was consequently met by this threatening of His in return. So Luthardt, but not fully satisfactory: his explanation is right so far, but it does not go far enough. Nor was our Lord's purpose in turning the shadow on the sun-dial of Lazarus' life a few degrees backward, merely to comfort the mourners, whose interests lay so near to His heart. Some other motive, or rather, some additional motive, and one too of the highest and most urgent kind, must certainly be sought. For this very significant fact is to be kept steadily in view, that the wonder-working power over

<sup>1</sup> *Vid. Studien und Kritiken*, 1862, p. 293.

death which these miracles—these preludes of the resurrection—display, was, during our Lord's whole ministry, very sparingly exercised. Perhaps something helpful to our present inquiry may be learned from the only parallel case recorded, viz. the raising of the widow's son from the bier at the gate of Nain. As for the raising of Jairus' daughter from the bed, it possibly admits of doubt whether it were actually the bed of death or not, and so we leave that instance out of our consideration. Turning then to the miracle wrought at Nain (Luke vii. 11), we find that the motive for our Lord's working it seems closely connected with His own approaching Passion. His interest in the circumstances of the case appears to have sprung out of the thoughts regarding Himself which these circumstances suggested to His own mind. The young man who had died was "the only son of his mother, and she was a widow," and Jesus "had compassion on her," and after He had restored the dead to life, it is written that "He delivered him to his mother." Placing these statements together, we are led to conclude that our Lord's motive for interference lay in what the widow's bereavement brought forcibly home to Him, regarding His own suffering and death. His heart was touched not merely by the spectacle of her great sorrow, but also because He turned in thought from the contemplation of the scene before Him, to that other "Mater dolorosa," whom He was ere long to see standing at the foot of His own cross,—“a sword piercing through her own soul also.” She too was a widow, and He, in one sense, was her only son, and hers was an anguish deeper far than that which was felt by the widow of Nain. It is natural to suppose that the thought of this coming incident in His Passion, suggested to Him by the so far similar case before Him, formed His chief motive for the working of the miracle.

If this be so, then the supposition gains very strong probability that in the greater miracle of the raising of Lazarus

—nearer as it was in point of time to “His hour,” and also the occasion, as it actually was, of hastening on that hour,—for we are told (ver. 53) “from that day forth they took counsel together for to put Him to death”—the motive is to be found in what it foreshadowed. Our Lord knew, in other words, that there lay in Lazarus’ death a hidden reference to His own. The death of His friend was thus in itself, and apparently it was intended that it should be (verses 6, 15), a prophecy of His own. The whole narrative, even to a cursory reader, yields itself very readily to this supposition. We see, *e.g.* in verses 7–10 and verse 16, how steadily and clearly His approaching suffering and death were in His view, and also in the view of His disciples. As He went forward with His followers from Peræa into Judea to “awake Lazarus out of sleep,” He knew that He was then going forth Himself to die; and the latter part of the chapter (verses 46–57) amply justifies the old saying, “*vita Lazari, mors Christi.*” Our Lord then, we conclude, was now, as “He groaned in the spirit, and was troubled,” turning away in thought from the scene of heart-desolation immediately before Him to that other scene already in the near future,—to that other sepulchre in the garden of Joseph of Arimathea. The shadow of His own death was now falling upon Him, as He thought of the conflict; and perchance there was also the light of anticipated triumph breaking through that darkness, as He thought of the mourning women at His own tomb, at last finding, as Martha and Mary did here, their sorrow turned by His resurrection into joy.

Here, therefore, we have (ver. 4) the Son of God glorified in this, that the death of Lazarus, followed as it was by his resurrection, symbolically pointed to that death and resurrection by which the wonder-worker Himself was to glorify God. Accepting this view of the narrative, we find the angry perturbation of spirit, which forms the chief difficulty in it, at once explained and justified. It now appears in its true light,

as caused by the immediate presence of him who has the power of death, and by that presence being regarded by our Lord as the signal of the first near beginnings of the mysterious conflict of the Passion,—the conflict foretold in the Prot-evangelium, and decided in its issues on the cross, and yet going on still in Christ's people throughout all time, till the consummation of all things,—“I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise His heel.”

In support of this conclusion at which we have arrived, it may be noticed that, in addition to the passage under our consideration, there are only in the Gospels other two, which speak of Christ's being “troubled in spirit” or “troubled in soul.” They are both found in the fourth Gospel, chap. xii. 27 and chap. xiii. 21; and they both represent this trouble of the Son of Man as arising from the contemplation of His Passion: there is therefore a presumption that His troubling of Himself here, owes its origin to the same cause. The same may also be said with regard to His weeping. It is remarkable that, in addition to that of our narrative, there are only two other instances recorded of our Lord's shedding tears: viz., Luke xix. 41, and Heb. v. 7. These three instances all relate to events near each other as to time,—“the hour and power of darkness,”—“My hour,” as Christ Himself calls it,—the season of His Passion. Even as to locality, the events to which these weepings belong are all near each other. The neighbourhood of Bethany, the brow of Mount Olivet, the garden of Gethsemane, these witnessed His sorrow. And further, in the two other cases these tears were certainly shed in close connection with the thought of His Passion: is there not reason, consequently, to say the same of this third case—the tears which fell before this miracle was wrought? These considerations, of no great force indeed in themselves and singly, yet taken together, point, with some persuasive power, to the conclusion which we have reached.

Still further, the view which we are advocating is in complete harmony with the whole tenor of the fourth Gospel, which everywhere deals with the deepest problems of thought and life, and which depicts the Divine Word alike in the infinite majesty of His power, and in the intense reality of His humiliation. This Gospel, which, as contrasted with the *τὰ σωματικά* recorded chiefly by the Synoptics, the ancient Church loved to call the *εὐαγγέλιον πνευματικόν*, records the miracles as being in reality parables,—not as *δυνάμεις*, but rather as *σημεῖα*,—mighty works, which were wrought in order that they might be accepted as signs from heaven of something higher than themselves;—signs, in the region of things material and visible, of realities in the spiritual, the *ἄνω κόσμος*. The more we consider the seven miracles recorded by this Evangelist, the more thoroughly is the conviction pressed upon us that it is peculiarly in this light that he wishes them to be understood. And further, miracles, incidents, discourses are all throughout evidently selected by him, in accordance with his plan, to portray the Prince of Life in His ceaseless conflict with evil,—His absolute and irreconcilable antagonism to this Cosmos and him who is its prince. This Gospel thus represents with greater distinctness than any of the others that element of truth which afterwards, through being misunderstood, in the Church, kept alive and gave power to the Manichæan heresy,—the belief in the existence of two conflicting (but not co-equal) principles of good and evil, and the implacable hostility existing between them. It is, *e.g.* in John's Gospel, and only there, that the personal power of evil is thrice called "the prince of this world" (John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11; comp. 2 Cor. iv. 4, *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*), and in these three passages it is always our Lord Himself who gives him that name, accompanying it with a direct allusion to his final overthrow. It is, once more, worthy of notice that the word "hate" is found<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Stanley Leathes' *Witness of St. John to Christ*, p. 140.

more frequently in this Gospel than in any other book of the New Testament; and, strange to say, it is always found upon the lips of the Saviour Himself. This fact alone points out a marked feature of the Gospel,—the representation of our Lord as everywhere, and at all times, showing a keen susceptibility to the world's hatred of Himself, and a keen perception of the deadly antagonism between Him and it,<sup>1</sup> and a constant wrestling, as it were, therewith, till at length, the victory being ensured, He exclaimed, "It is finished!"

In the light of these acknowledged peculiarities of the fourth Gospel, we the more readily conclude that our Lord's angry groaning in spirit in the presence of death here, receives its most natural and only satisfactory explanation in this, that He was turning in spirit from Lazarus' death to His own last struggle, in which, as Chrysostom has it, "His own death became the death of death." His wrath was but the visible outgoing of His perfect Holiness, in the presence of evil, as He felt in His own words of anticipated triumph that the Prince of this world was coming, but could have nothing in Him, and that even then He could say, "Now is the prince of this world cast out." Thus, what holds good of the emotion of anger in a merely human breast is absolutely, fully true of the anger of the Son of Man—this "Wrath of the Lamb,"—that it is but another form of love. His anger directed against man's foe, proves the reality and power of His love, as Himself man's true friend. The Divine love and anger, revealed in our Lord, are both flames of the same fire, the one that which quickens, the other that which consumes. The eye of faith, therefore, can see gleaming through the storm-cloud of this wrath, "the glory of God" (vers. 4, 40),—the

<sup>1</sup> There are some good remarks on this characteristic of the fourth Gospel in Koestlin's *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, pp. 186-188; and in Scholten's *Evangelium nach Johannes*, p. 92. The reputation of this latter work, as it seems to us, has been somewhat unjustly decried by Sanday (*The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, Preface xvi.).



glory of Him who to all who believe is even now "the resurrection and the life."

It may be noticed in this connection that the working of this miracle was specially adapted, perhaps designed, to meet the spiritual need of our Lord's immediate disciples. If Thomas, "the melancholy realist," as Keim well calls him, was in any degree the representative and spokesman of his brethren, we know that at this time a thick gloom was settling gradually down upon them. Their hearts were becoming daily more depressed with undefined forebodings of evil. But the end was not yet: their faith in their Master was very soon to encounter a trial far greater, far more testing, than any it had yet experienced. His approaching crucifixion was certain to give, as we know it did give, a shock to all their erroneous Jewish prepossessions regarding the person and work of the Messiah. But the remembrance of this miracle was well fitted to give them strength in the hour of weakness, so that the issue of that trial might not prove altogether disastrous, destructive to their allegiance. Even when their hopes seemed buried in the sepulchre in the garden, their thoughts doubtless reverted to this incident; and in the contemplation of it they found something of comfort for

"Their breaking hearts, that would not break."

Notwithstanding their "slowness of heart to believe" (Luke xxiv. 25), they may have had, like the friends of Lazarus in *their* grief, some dim, undefined expectation, that He who had wrought this miracle, could also in some way for Himself "turn the shadow of death into the morning." We may be allowed to suppose that some such loving interest in His disciples may have formed a subsidiary motive for our Lord's restoring to life one who was His friend and theirs alike.

We have thus endeavoured to show that, whatever mode of exposition we adopt,—whether with patristic exaggeration we spiritualize all the minutiae of the narrative, or with equal or

rather greater and far more serious error, resolve, as Keim and others do, the whole into an outgrowth from the corresponding parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19-31),—the very heart of the narrative is in this 33rd verse, and that in it there beats the very heart of our Lord Himself.

In concluding this discussion, we may notice a very interesting parallel in the *Alcestis* of Euripides. In that drama we have the vivid picture of the hero Hercules,—

“Half God,  
Half man, which made the God-part, God the more,”

—encountering Thanatos in personal conflict, and overcoming him at the tomb, and then restoring to light and life the pure, devoted, self-sacrificing Alcestis. Even although the myth which underlies that poem be resolved, as in all probability it should be, into one of the myths of the Dawn,<sup>1</sup> we are yet warranted in regarding it, along with much else ‘in the beautiful creations of the Greek mind, as a broken reflection of the truth. Hence the comment, which Browning<sup>2</sup> makes on the poem of Euripides, may stand here as our comment on the holy anger and the tears of Him who is the true helper of our world :—

“I think this is the authentic sign and seal  
Of Godship, that it ever waxes glad  
And more glad, until gladness blossoms, bursts  
Into a rage to suffer for mankind,  
And recommence at sorrow.”

JOHN HUTCHISON.

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<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Cox, *Aryan Mythology*, vol. ii. p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid.* *Balaustion's Adventure*.

## STUDIES IN THE MINOR PROPHETS.

JOEL.

IV.—*The Trumpet-Call to Repentance.*

WE have already described the place of Joel's prophecy in the line of the Prophetic Word. If it be granted that the collection of written prophecies commences with this book (Jonah standing by itself, as more a history than a prophetic message), then it will be seen that there is great importance in a correct estimate of the matter and spirit of an utterance which occupies so significant a position. There can be no doubt at all, that if not actually the first of the written prophets, *Joel* stood close to the very beginning of that succession of public ministries which form so remarkable a feature in the religious history of God's ancient people, from the ninth to the fourth century before Christ, with varying intervals, lasting through more than four hundred years. The leading spiritual features of this book remain characteristic of all the prophetic writings. They are these—the divine invitation to repentance and reconciliation; the promise of spiritual blessings; the prediction of future judgments, culminating in a great crisis of the church and of the world, in which the righteousness of God shall be vindicated and His purposes fulfilled.

It is a help to the right understanding of all the prophets to look closely into any one of their messages. This very early one, which Joel delivered, is like an introduction to all that follow it. Conspicuous on the very front of the book is the *Call to Repentance*, and to that we must give special attention. We cannot say that the whole business of Joel

was to proclaim the necessity of repentance, for there is so much more in the latter half of the book which concerns a larger scope, that the subject of repentance seems to be left behind in the brighter themes to which the faith of the people is lifted. But the language of the prophet is so powerful and urgent, that the whole of the first portion of his message is like a trumpet's sound in Zion. It is a constantly-repeated summons—"Hear, give ear; awake and weep. Howl and lament. Be ashamed and howl. Gird yourselves and lament; lie all night in sackcloth and howl." "Sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly. Gather all the elders and all the inhabitants of the land, into the house of Jehovah your God, and cry unto the Lord." "Blow ye the trumpets in Zion, and sound an alarm in my holy mountain." "Turn ye unto me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning; and rend your heart and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God." "Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly; gather the people, sanctify the congregation, assemble the elders, gather the children, and those that suck the breasts: let the bridegroom go forth of his chamber, and the bride out of her closet. Let the priest, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar" (ch. i. 2, 5, 8, 11, 13, 14, ii. 1, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17).

The first point that must strike every reader of such words, is *their boldness and their tone of authority*. The whole nation is summoned by this one voice of the prophet. Although himself not a priest, nor among the priests, but in a sense standing aloof from them, Joel yet commands all, from the highest priest to the youngest child, to appear in the house of the Lord and offer the sacrifice of sincere humiliation and prayer. Joel does not assume any office which was not his own. He does not bid the priests resign *their* trumpet to him, and send forth a message in his own

name to the people. He simply summons the representatives of an organized religious community to fulfil their duty. He has not a slighting word to say of the temple or of the temple services. On the other hand, he bids the priests be in their places, and the people to come round them. But it is remarkable that this humble prophet, about whom personally we know nothing, should speak with so much solemnity and as with the very voice of God to the whole nation. This was the natural outcome of the prophet's mission. "The word of the Lord came to Joel the son of Pethuel." Before that word of the Lord, that direct inspiration, all from the highest to the lowest bowed with submission and reverence. It must never be forgotten that there had been many prophets among the people of God before these whose writings have come down to us as the word of God. The people had by the time of Joel been long accustomed to "try the spirits whether they were of God." The individual messenger was able to show, either by the signs which accompanied his messages, or by the character of the message itself, that he spake with authority. And the authority once recognised was put at the very highest. The prophet, being received as the special messenger of Jehovah, was above priests and even princes, the spiritual leader for the time being of the whole nation. This point is deserving of very close attention in our own time, because there is a tendency in some writers on prophecy to lower the functions of the prophets to that of mere preachers of morality. If Joel was inspired only in the same sense in which a powerful and earnest preacher is inspired, how are we to explain the authoritative tone of his message? Was it likely that the priests would not resent such boldness, unless it was backed by the force of a supernatural inspiration? We must bear in mind that such ministries as those of Elijah and Elisha were accompanied with a large

number of miraculous signs. The people were filled with the thought that God was sending them His *word*, sending them a *new law* by His servants the prophets. But they regarded the Pentateuch as their supreme rule of life, because given them by Moses, to whom God so marvellously testified ; so, in a lesser degree, though still without doubt or wavering, they set up the words of the prophets as a Divine testimony, a *second law*, which they knew well would condemn them, as the first, if it were disobeyed and rejected. At the same time, we must not forget that the prophets themselves were tried and tested by the law of Moses. If they spake not according to that word, it was because there was no light in them. The religious teaching which we find in the later books of the Old Testament, is the same which we find in the earliest. There is no new doctrine, although there is much development. The prophets *saw* more deeply into the truth of God than others, and testified what they *saw*. Their visions of the future were always intimately related to the line of Divine revelation, which was never broken from the first word of grace spoken in Paradise to the last accents of him who spoke of the sudden appearance of the "Messenger of the Covenant." The simplicity and the practical character of the prophetic messages must not blind us to the speciality of the prophetic function and the reality of the prophetic inspiration. The books must be studied in their connection with the facts of history and as a whole. There are portions of the prophetic writings which beyond all doubt were divinely communicated. The more practical portions must not be separated from the more distinctly predictive, but regarded as one with them. The man was an inspired man, he was clothed with the authority of his inspiration. His messages, even when the simplest in their meaning, were filled with the power of a Divine appeal. The voice was the voice of a man, but it was the echo of the voice of God.

Another leading feature in the language of Joel is its *entire freedom from all levitical formality, and the spiritual elevation of its tone*. The exhortation in ii. 13, "Rend your heart and not your garments," has become a typical expression of religious sincerity and earnestness. The close connection which the prophet sets forth between a true and deep repentance and the restoration of Divine favour is the keynote of the whole strain of the prophetic ministry: "Turn unto the Lord your God, for He is gracious and merciful, slow to anger and of great kindness, and repenteth Him of the evil." It is true that there is nothing in Joel which can be regarded as throwing the smallest slight upon the regular services of the sanctuary. On the other hand, one of the chief grounds of complaint and lamentation is the cutting off "of the meat-offering and the drink-offering from the house of the Lord" (although that is referred to as a sign of poverty and misery among the people, rather than as threatening a curse from the Lord because of the neglect of His ordinance). The priests and the ministers of the altar are distinctly mentioned as representatives and instructors of the people. But while the temple with its ritual is before the mind of the prophet, as honourable and precious in the sight of the Lord, the national crisis which calls forth his message is viewed in a higher light than that of the ceremonial law. The people gathered into the house of the Lord are in the presence of Him who searcheth the hearts and trieth the ways of the children of men. From the elders down to the infants at the breast, all are invited to take part in the act of national humiliation and repentance. It is not disparagement of external services which deepens religious feeling. It is not to draw men away from the temple that God has sent the plague of locusts on the land. It is to deliver them from formality, from insincerity, that their sufferings have been sent. "God is inviting them to turn to Him, and He will surely enable them to turn

to Him. They have not believed too much that He was present in His own temple, at His own altar; they have forgotten that He was there. They have paid their offerings to Him without remembering that He was in the midst of them. Let them now come in the faith that He is there, and see whether He will bless them" (Maurice). But it might perhaps be supposed that the commandment to fast and to put on sackcloth, and the repeated demand for weeping and mourning, were accommodations to the ceremonial spirit of the time, inconsistent with a very high tone of thought in the prophet. The rarity of allusion in Scripture to fasting, shows that it was by no means an empty form, that it was simply an external help to what was real humiliation of soul. The very word itself was taken to mean *affliction of soul*. The only word employed in the law is that which applies to the soul (see Lev. xvi. 29-31, xxiii. 27; Num. xxx. 13); and the word *affliction* (Ezra ix. 5) is used commonly in the Talmud and Rabbinical writings for fasting. The only public fast which was recognised as a regular appointment was that on the great Day of Atonement, the tenth Tisri. There were other fasts which came into observance after the time of the captivity, and to which allusion is made in the seventh and eighth chapters of Zechariah. But at the time of the prophet Joel, fasting would be specially connected in the minds of the people with the solemn national humiliation of the great Day of Atonement, even to this present time the most sorrowful and solemn day of all the year to the Jewish mind, when, in some of the synagogues, the older men sit in their shrouds before the Lord, and confess their sins as in the sight of the open sepulchre. There are references, however, to private and personal fasting, as when David fasted for his child (2 Sam. xii. 16); and other instances in which fasting is enjoined on the people may be seen in Judg. xx. 26; 1 Sam. vii. 6; 2 Sam. i. 12; 1 Kings xxi. 9; 2 Chron. xx. 3.



The periods of great religious concentration and intimate fellowship with God were sometimes periods of seclusion and bodily humiliation, though the leading conception in such instances is not that of *affliction* of soul, but rather of *elevation* of soul, as in the cases of Moses fasting in the mount, and of Elijah on his journey to Horeb, and in the case of our Lord in the wilderness of His temptation. There are many instances in which we find fasting connected with great anxiety and grief. The custom no doubt arose by the force of natural feeling. When the soul is deeply moved, the wants of the body are overpowered by the demands of the spirit; and when a solemn religious act is called for, it is the dictate of reason that everything like indulgence of the bodily appetites should be renounced. We have no reason to suppose that the people of God, under the old dispensation, regarded their abstinence and privation during the time of fasting as in itself any atonement for sin, or specially acceptable to Jehovah. It was only in later times, when the ceremonial requirements of the law had been suffered to hide the spiritual demands of God, that fasting was regarded as in itself, and apart from affliction of the soul, an essential part of religion. There can be no doubt as to the doctrine taught in the penitential Psalms. They are not ceremonial. "The sacrifices of God" are distinctly declared to be "a broken spirit." It is "a broken and a contrite heart" which is required, and not a mere external fulfilment of legal observances. In Ps. lxxix. 10, we have the very word "fasting" introduced, and yet the affliction spoken of is affliction of soul: "When I wept and chastened my soul with fasting." It is a great mistake to charge upon the Old Testament the follies of the Rabbinical school. The Rabbis taught that sin could be overcome by the individual himself, and that he could obtain eternal life by the merit of his own wisdom and works. Hence the asceticism which was inculcated, and the numerous

fasts which were introduced into the Jewish calendar. But it has been well observed by Mr. Maurice, in his discourse on Joel, that the call to repentance and to fasting was immediately connected with the Divine promise, that the gift of a true spiritual repentance should be poured out in answer to the people's prayers. "We should remember that the prophet who speaks of seeing visions and dreaming dreams, speaks first of turning to the Lord with all the heart. Repentance is God's choicest and deepest gift; repentance for an habitual dreariness and coldness, for that shallowness of heart which overtakes us when we are surrounded with the tokens of His presence, when we are partakers of the ordinances of His grace; which those very privileges seem to produce in us; from which, troubles, individual or national, cannot of themselves deliver us." That which we present to God must first come from God, whether it be repentance or faith. We may be in no danger of substituting an external fasting or doing of penance for spiritual religion, but we may be in very great danger of substituting mere fanatical excitement of feeling and displays of religious fervour for the deep and sincere turning of the heart to the Lord. That which we bring to the Lord must be a pure and spotless offering; therefore must we ask Him to remove from us all conceit and extravagance and self-righteousness, and come Himself as the Spirit of truth and love into our hearts, that the offering of the Lord may be pleasant unto Him and the blessing be left behind Him.

Another important feature in the teaching of this first of the written prophets is the clear recognition of *the great principle of the Theocracy—the working out of the spiritual kingdom in the external world*. It was the lesson of the past written in all the vivid characters of a wonderful history. There are not *two* worlds, separate from one another, between which it is the work of religion to weave connecting bands. There are

not *two* opposing spheres of Divine action, the seen and the unseen, between which it is the object of revelation to effect a reconciliation. That is the perverse misconception of unbelief. There is *one* world, *one* scheme of things, *one* realm of immeasurable extent and infinitely diversified activity, and the essential character of that world is *order*. It is God's world. It is the sphere of the Divine energy; of the Divine sway; of the perfect Intelligence and Will, revealing themselves in the onward progress of events, in the mingled good and evil, the conflicts and victories, the confusions and settlements. The prophets were gifted with a heaven-sent power to look through the ages of the past and fix their thought on the permanent reality, which wrought like a golden thread through all the warp and woof of change. They saw that the same unchangeable Righteousness held together all the moving scenes of the great drama. They anticipated the climax and read the mysterious complexity of human affairs in their own environment by the light of that which was at once "the beginning and the end." *Theocracy* was the ruling idea in the minds of all the seers. From the call of Abraham to the redemption from Egypt; from the pilgrimage through the wilderness to the return from exile; from the fall of Israel to the New Jerusalem, it was all one supreme revelation; on which all the words of the messengers rested. The sinless world into which man entered was the sphere of a perfect fellowship between the Divine and the human. The ultimate blessedness of humanity must be the regaining of that lost Paradise, the restoration of that broken fellowship, the visible reunion of the spiritual and the material, the conscious intermingling of the heavenly and the earthly, the kingdom of God amongst men. It is remarkable that this first, short record of a prophet's ministry should present the substance of the whole Word of God in a form so very palpable and conspicuous. The people are addressed as

living the simple, rustic life of corn-growers and vine-dressers, and shepherds and herdsmen. They rejoice in abundance of this world's produce ; the corn, the wine, the oil, the pomegranates, the apples. And their desolation is depicted in the wasted fields and the withering fruit-trees, and the empty garners and the broken-down barns. These things are not dreams to them. They are very real. They feel the presence of God in their life. When they are joyful, God smiles upon them. When they are suffering and their children languish, and their fields and flocks perish before their eyes, God is angry with them. And their prayer of penitence is a cry for help, for the joy of His salvation, for a life that shall once more bear witness to His presence and favour. "Who knoweth if He will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him, even a meat-offering and a drink-offering unto the Lord your God?" (ii. 14)—that is, a harvest of corn and wine from which there shall be a dedicated portion acknowledging the Divine beneficence. The answer which is promised takes the same shape. It is not a merely spiritual reconciliation which is predicted, not merely the forgiveness of the sins, as sins, which is set before the people as the object which they should ask by prayer, but the removal of the judgment and the restoration of that earthly prosperity which testified to the conservation of the Divine order. "Yea, the Lord will answer and say unto His people, Behold, I will send you corn, and wine and oil, and ye shall be satisfied therewith ; and I will no more make you a reproach among the heathen. Fear not, O land ; be glad and rejoice : for the Lord will do great things. Be not afraid, ye beasts of the field : for the pastures of the wilderness do spring, for the tree beareth her fruit, the fig tree and the vine do yield their strength. And the floors shall be full of wheat, and the vats shall overflow with wine and oil, and I will restore to you the grass that the locust hath eaten, the cankerworm, and the caterpillar, and the

palmer-worm, my great army which I sent among you. And ye shall eat in plenty, and be satisfied, and praise the name of the Lord your God, that hath dealt wondrously with you; and my people shall never be ashamed. And ye shall know that I am in the midst of Israel, and that I am the Lord your God, and none else: and my people shall never be ashamed" (ii. 19, 21, 22, 24-27). "These will seem to many," says Mr. Maurice, "very earthly and carnal blessings to follow upon repentance — blessings such as indicate an unspiritual dispensation. But I apprehend that people who speak thus, are in great hazard of becoming exceedingly unspiritual themselves. The corn and wine and oil are something to them whether they acknowledge it or not. The question is, whether they shall look at these things simply in themselves and pay them honour for their own sakes while they affect to despise them, or whether they shall look upon them as gifts and signs of One whom they cannot see, but who is present with them. And there is this question which follows from the other: Do we think of the corn and wine and oil only in connection with ourselves, or in connection with the land in which we are dwelling? Most assuredly, if we take the first course, we must be very earthly and sensual, because we must be utterly selfish. Joel took the other, and thereby found in those things which men covet and pursue to the exclusion of their brethren, therefore to the destruction of themselves, witnesses of his relation to all who dwelt on the soil, tokens of God's care for them and for it; assurances at the same time that He was educating them by the enjoyment of these things or by the want of them, to seek after Himself."

Closely connected with the wellbeing and prosperity of the nation as their true repentance was, it seems fitting that they should be summoned to it by the trumpet-call which gathered them in a great national assembly in the holy mountain. It

is noticeable in the language of Joel, that the religious service which it is part of his mission to proclaim is of the simplest possible character, and that its main feature is that all can unite in it. Some have supposed that the words in ii. 17, "Spare Thy people, O Lord, and give not Thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them (or mock them): wherefore should they say among the people, Where is their God?" are intended to be a Litany which priests and people should repeat together in public. That, however, is a very unnecessary and forced interpretation of the words. It would be out of place for a prophet to prescribe words for the priests to use, nor have we any reason to believe that on any other occasion such a dictation of prophet to priest, with regard to formal directions, occurred. The general summons to repentance would be quite in accordance with the prophetic function, but it is much more likely that the priests and people would be left to follow the guidance of the Spirit of God in their own hearts, than that a prophet should provide them with a prepared form of words. The so-called "Litany" is only a brief epitome of the prophet's own supplications, which he uses to enforce the summons to the solemn meeting. But the absence of all allusion to any other part of the temple service is striking. The people as a people, in all their variety of age and condition, are represented as gathered before Jehovah. And their one act of religious worship is prayer, penitential prayer, with fasting and weeping and mourning. The priests, the ministers of Jehovah, are enjoined simply to weep and pray. Are we to regard this as entirely due to the exceptional circumstances of the time, when, as we are told (i. 13), "the meat-offering and the drink-offering is withholden from the house of their God"? Surely not, for in case of extreme destitution there were other offerings which might be provided in lieu of those which were regularly brought; neither can we suppose that all offerings were cut off, for

in ver. 18 we read of herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. The meat-offering and drink-offering were the special tokens of national thanksgiving, of joy and gladness in the lives of the people. It was not Joel's intention, therefore, in the least degree to interfere with the regular services of the temple. They would no doubt be maintained so far as the terrible events of the time permitted. The ministers of the altar would not be without employment, although they would lie all night in sackcloth and bewail the condition of the people and the falling off in the solemn rites of the sanctuary. But the fast, the solemn assembly of all the inhabitants of the land, was a very emphatic recognition that religion was not a mere performance of sacred rites, not a mere matter of priestly mediation, not a mere external obedience to the prescriptions of the Mosaic Law—it was a deep heart's concern, which united all the people together. The effect of such gatherings on the national character would be very great. It is scarcely possible to overestimate it. The theocratic sentiment was thus carried into the home life. It went down to the very foundations of the state. The people were taught to think of themselves as a nation of priests, which they were. In the greatest emergencies, they are called out to avert the anger of Jehovah by their prayers. The priests of the temple are simply their leaders, their spiritual guides, mingling their tears with those of the people, uniting the words of their petitions with the vast body of supplication rising up before God from the whole assembly. The "congregation" is the true representative of Israel. The fathers and children; husbands and wives, the nation in all its extent and variety,—all are taken into the closest relationship with God. All are standing in His presence—all are "children of Zion." This became the leading strain in all the subsequent prophetic messages. It was to awaken the whole land to this fulness of Divine grace that voice after voice was heard, sounding like a trumpet

to call the people to repentance. Had the summons been obeyed and the grace been recognised, the Jewish people would have become the greatest people of the world. They would not fulfil their vocation to be the witnesses of Jehovah. They resisted the Holy Ghost. They turned away from the prophets. The messages which should have lifted them up higher and higher in the Divine favour and in power to do the Divine will, became their condemnation. The people sank into religious indifference and neglect, and their priests into ritualistic formality. But in the midst of the prophetic warnings and threatenings, the sound of the trumpet was an invitation to "repentance unto life."

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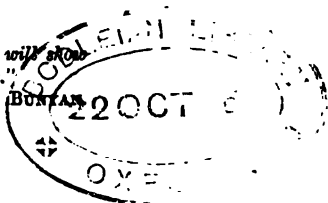
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**By HERMANN LOTZE.**

**Translated from the German by**

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**Book I. The Body.—II. The Soul.—III. Life.—IV. Man.—V. Mind.—VI. The Microcosmic Order; or, The Course of Human Life.—VII. History.—VIII. Progress.—IX. The Unity of Things.**

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‘Lotze is the ablest, the most brilliant, and most renowned of the German philosophers of to-day. . . . Lotze has rendered invaluable and splendid service to Christian thinkers, and has given them a work which cannot fail to equip them for the sturdiest intellectual conflicts, and to ensure their victory.’—*Baptist Magazine.*

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## ST. PAUL ON THE THEISTIC INFERENCE.

ROMANS I. 20.

THE passage in the Apostle's great opening chapter to the Romans touches closely on the deepest questions of modern and ancient thought. What the Apostle asserts here is the validity of the theistic inference from nature, the moral necessity of it, and the moral responsibility involved in that necessity. The Apostle lays down in Rom. i. both a metaphysic and an ethic of the universe. His argument is of eternal value, and of singular appropriateness in the present confusions of thought. The Apostle is expressing the language both of Plato and of Kant, but adding implicitly a term of his own. There is a remarkable passage in Kant which appears to have escaped the notice of commentators, although it is an echo, however unconscious, of the Apostle's words.

"The present world opens to us so immense a theatre of diversity, order, fitness, and beauty, whether we seek after these in the infinite of space, or in its unbounded divisions;—everywhere we see a chain of effects and causes, of ends and means, regularity in beginning and ending. Since nothing has come of itself into the state in which it is, it always thus indicates farther back another thing, as its cause, which renders exactly the same farther inquiry necessary; so that the great whole must sink into the abyss of nothing, if we did not admit something existing of itself originally, and independently, external to this infinite contingent, and as the cause of its origin. The highest Cause in respect of all things in the world, how great are we to think it? The world we are not acquainted with according to its whole extent; still less do we know how to appreciate its magnitude by

comparison with all that is possible. But what prevents us, that, since we require in respect of causality an external and Supreme Being, we should not at the same time, in respect of the degree of perfection, place it above everything else possible? It would consequently be not only comfortless but also quite vain, to wish to take away something from the authority of this proof. Reason, which is unceasingly elevated by means of arguments so powerful, and always increasing under its hands, although only empirical ones, cannot, through any doubts of subtly-deduced speculation, be so pressed down that it must not be roused, as it were, out of a dream from any meditative irresolution, by a glance which it casts on the wonders and majesty of the universe, in order to raise itself from greatness to greatness up to the 'highest of all, from the conditional to the condition up to the Supreme and Unconditional Creator.'<sup>1</sup>

The "wonders and majesty," almost the identical Pauline *δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης*, of the universe, irresistibly suggest a Supreme and Unconditional Creator. It would be difficult to express more forcibly the argument from causation. But Kant's statement is incomplete as compared with the Apostle's. Not as incomplete, taken by itself, as H. Spencer's statement. "It is absolutely certain that we are in the presence of an Infinite Eternal Energy from which all things proceed;" for this Infinite Eternal Energy might be personal or impersonal. Passing back to Plato, interwoven with inconsistencies and obscurities,<sup>2</sup> we light upon fleeting approximations to the complete Christian idea of nature. The creation of the world, he says, is "the thought of God made God," which statement by itself would mean Pantheism, but is not consistent with

<sup>1</sup> *Critick of Pure Reason*, Book ii. c. i. div. iii. § 6; Mozley, *On Causation*, "Essays," ii. p. 442 foll.

<sup>2</sup> "If then, amid the many opinions about the gods and the creation of the universe, we are not able to give notions that are in every way exact and consistent with one another, do not wonder at that" (*Tim.* 29)—is his own apology.

other passages. In the *Timæus* he thus states the argument from causation:—

“Was the world, I say, always in existence and without beginning, or created and having a beginning? Created, I reply, being visible and tangible and having a body, and therefore sensible; and all sensible things which are apprehended by opinion and sense are in process of creation and created. Now that which is created must of necessity be created by a cause. But how can we find out the father and maker of all this universe? Or when we have found him, how shall we be able to speak of him to all men? And there is still another question to be asked about him: Which of the patterns had the artificer in view when he made the world, the pattern which is unchangeable or that which is created? If the world be indeed fair and the artificer good, then, as is plain, he must have looked to that which is eternal.<sup>1</sup> But if what I may not venture to say is true, then he looked to the created pattern. Every one will see that he must have looked to the eternal, for the world is the fairest of creations and he is the best of causes! . . . 29 E. Let me tell you then, why the creator of the world generated and created this universe. He was good, and no goodness can ever have any jealousy of anything. And being free from jealousy he desired all things should be as like himself as possible.”

But his further speculations drift far from this Pauline point of view; e.g.: “And therefore using the language of probability, we may say that the world became a living creature (ζῶον ἐμψυχον) and truly rational through the providence of God. This being supposed, let us next proceed to consider the further question, In the likeness of what animal did the Creator make the world?” (*Timæus*, 30 B.C.<sup>2</sup>)

In the *Timæus*, Plato's cosmology reaches its highest point. The world is there exhibited as a personal creation; and the

<sup>1</sup> αἰδιον, the exact Pauline word, *s.l.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ap. Jowett*; but Jowett translates ζῶον ἐμψυχον *living soul*.

dialogue naturally found much favour with early Christian thought. Similarly in the *Republic* he recognises the Creator of the ideas as self-subsistent.

What then is the missing factor in the above Kantian and Platonic statements? It is the moral and spiritual element, though Plato has hinted at it. The visible universe implies not only the power of the Creator, and that that power is eternal, but His Divinity. The *θεότης* of St. Paul includes all His knowable spiritual perfections and attributes. The power reflected is personal, moral, spiritual. The character of its author is imprinted upon His work. Creation is His work of art, *ποίημα*; we are His work of art, as the Apostle says (Eph. ii. 10), and the nature and character of the Artist are expressed in His creation. Plato is completed by Wordsworth, and by Carlyle in his higher moods: "Art is eternity looking through time."<sup>1</sup> The eternal Divine ideas are translated into the visible and temporal,<sup>2</sup> the spiritual transmuted into the material. The visible things of God are the *φαντάσματα θεῶν καὶ σκιάι τῶν ὄντων*. The Cosmos displays not only intelligence, but spiritual intelligence; not only power, but moral power. St. Paul assumes the same position in his sermon to the anthropomorphic country folks of Lycaonia.<sup>3</sup> He bases the theistic inference upon moral foundations. God has not only been a worker in giving us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, but a good worker, a benefactor, *ἀγαθοουργῶν*; and the word is emphatic by its position, covering the whole subsequent ground to end of verse 17. Not his work only, but the moral quality of it, has been a witness to His Being and Attributes. In the same spirit Prof. Wace has done well to enforce the moral element in the argument from design.

<sup>1</sup> *Sartor Resartus*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aug. *de vera Relig.* xxix. 52. Videamus quatenus ratio posset progredi, a visibilibus ad invisibilia, et a temporalibus ad æterna conscendens. . . . In quorum consideratione non vana et peritura curiositas exercenda est; sed gradus ad immortalia et semper manentia faciendus.

<sup>3</sup> Acts xiv. 17.



He illustrates it by the structure of the human frame, which, he says, "is not merely calculated to produce certain physical results, such as sight. It is also calculated to produce certain moral results, of the highest beauty and delicacy."<sup>1</sup> Amongst these results he specifies with singular appropriateness and point the relations of marriage and fatherhood.

The further question follows, if the theistic inference is valid for all intelligences, how is it that certain intelligences do not draw that inference? "*Cur non omnibus eadem loquitur?*"<sup>2</sup> Augustine appositely asks. The answer is to be found in the moral quality of the physical revelation expressed above. The context of the Pauline passage supplies the clue. Unrighteousness results in holding down the truth; knowing God, they glorified Him not as God, neither gave thanks; but became vain in their reasonings, and their senseless heart was darkened; professing themselves to be wise, they became fools; and even as they refused to have God in their knowledge, God gave them up unto a "reprobate mind."<sup>3</sup> The interconnection of moral and spiritual and intellectual error is submitted to the keenest analysis to which human nature on the moral and religious side has ever been subjected. The same truth is forcibly and repeatedly stated by implication among the Apostle's latest utterances (1 Tim. i. 19, iv. 1-3, vi. 3-5). It is in fact an inevitable deduction from the unity of man's nature, and the correlations and interrelations of the material and spiritual elements of his complex being. To draw the theistic inference, then, in the moral and spiritual sense, the intelligence must itself be moral and spiritual. There must be a moral, if there is to be an intellectual, apprehension of God. Where the Divine factor has been missing, the intelligence, in Pauline thought, has missed its way; the moral nature has been disendowed, obscured, darkened.

<sup>1</sup> *Christianity and Morality.*

<sup>2</sup> *Conf.* x. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Vers. 18, 21, 22, 28.

It was no new thing for the Apostle to imply a correlation between our minds and the objects of our thought. Plato states the truth in an exaggerated form in his doctrine of Anamnesis. With him our knowledge is merely memory. We do not know anything we did not know before. That is, more exactly, all our knowledge does not come from without; there must be a corresponding faculty, an organ adapted to recognise the ideas. But there is higher authority than Plato's for this truth. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." "The pure in heart shall see God." The natural order then, according to the Apostle, presupposes a supernatural, the visible and physical an invisible and spiritual. But to verify these presuppositions the intelligence must be moral and spiritual. This is the constant language of Christian ethics. Theophilus, *ad Autol.* I. ch. ii.: "God is seen by those who can see Him, when they open the eyes of their soul."<sup>1</sup> Augustine answers his own question above in another place: "*Animalia vident, sed interrogare nequeunt: non enim præposita est in eis, nuntiantibus sensibus, iudex ratio (Conf. x.). Homines autem possunt interrogare ut invisibilia Dei per ea quæ facta sunt intellecta conspiciantur; sed amore subduntur, et subditi judicare non possunt. Nec respondent ista interrogantibus, nisi judicantibus. . . . Hi intelligunt, qui ejus vocem acceptam foris, intus cum veritate conferunt*" (*Conf. i.*).<sup>2</sup>

"It is the low man thinks the woman low;  
Sin is too dull to see beyond himself."<sup>3</sup>

We see only according to our power of vision. Our power of vision depends upon the light we have received. In Thy light shall we see light.

<sup>1</sup> *Vid.* Flint, *Theism*, p. 353, for the context; cf. *ib.* p. 69: "Hence the fuller and clearer the Divine image is in any man, the fuller and clearer will be his perception of the Divine original."

<sup>2</sup> *Vid.* Gratry, *Connaissance de Dieu; Théodicée de Saint Augustin, passim.*

<sup>3</sup> Tennyson's *Queen Mary*, v. 2.

The visible creation becomes, then, in Pauline thought an Apocalypse, a Sacrament of the things that are unseen and Divine, of Him who is the beginning, middle, and end of all. The attitude of the nature Psalms (viii., xix., xxix., civ., etc.) becomes the only right and reasonable posture of the soul in the high temple of the universe. In the visible creation, the Christian recognises, and none but the Christian can enter into the full recognition which not only knows but loves, the personal handiwork of the Logos. To read the thought of Christ in all its manifold languages, tones, and revelations there must be the mind of Christ. Here "in part" only, but in truth still. The *Λόγος* is the *εἰκὼν* of the invisible God. The Cosmos is an *εἰκὼν εἰκόνο*s, an imperfect image of the one perfect Image. "Then sawest thou that this fair universe, were it in the meanest province thereof, is in very deed the star-domed city of God; that through every star, through every grass blade, and most through every living soul, the glory of a present God still beams. But Nature, which is the time-vesture of God, and reveals Him to the wise, hides Him from the foolish."<sup>1</sup>

J. F. VALLINGS, M.A.

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*.

## THE SONG OF SOLOMON.

THE intention of this essay is not the ambitious one of starting any new theory, but rather that of presenting in succinct form to the general reader the views of the meaning of the Song which are, or have been held, and thus drawing attention to a portion of Scripture which is imperfectly appreciated, and liable to be misunderstood. To devoutly disposed but unlearned readers of the Bible the Song of Solomon may well be an occasion of perplexity. Finding it in Holy Scripture, they expect to get from it some religious lesson. But, in spite of the headings of the chapters in our Authorized Version, which direct them to thoughts of Christ and the Church, they may still be at a loss; not only from their inability to discover any distinct plan or purpose in the Song, but also from its suggesting to them, as they read, ideas of amorous affection rather than of spiritual fervour. Hence it is probable that many such readers lay it aside as beyond them, sensible of a difficulty which they shrink from facing; though others, it is true, have been found to delight in it peculiarly, as expressing to them impassioned devotion in terms of human love. Rationalistic critics, on the other hand, though interpreting variously its plan and purport, escape serious difficulty by regarding it as obviously nothing more than an amatory poem of early Hebrew literature; and they may account for its reception into the canon of Scripture by the prestige of Solomon's name, or its popularity, or some happy accident. In this inquiring age, which professes to tolerate no foregone conclusions, the Song, along with the rest of Scripture, must of necessity be cast into the crucible of criticism. Thoughtful students of the Bible cannot

now avoid considering honestly, with such light as modern thought and learning may afford, what account the Song gives of itself, and what it probably meant to the age in which it was written, apart from the glosses of either Jewish Rabbis or Christian divines. Our very zeal for the honour of the Scriptures which we believe and prize incites us to the task. And, indeed, even independently of religious considerations, so interesting a fragment of the literature of Solomon's age claims the attention of scholars, whether or not theologians. For the learned in such matters are for the most part agreed in their verdict, that the Song, whatever be its purport, is certainly a product of the golden reign of Solomon. Of him we read that "his songs were a thousand and five;" and among those whom he gathered to his splendid court there would assuredly be bards ready to follow his lead, and to fill the air with songs such as the king delighted in. But of all the songs of the period, this, whether written by Solomon himself or not, remains as the single specimen; and hence, as afore-said, it is of peculiar interest, and invites inquiry into its meaning.

The inquiry immediately before us is, be it observed, as to the literal and primary meaning of the Song;—as to what, when honestly examined, it seems to tell us about itself. Whether or not it was originally intended to bear, or is capable of bearing, a typical, allegorical, or otherwise mystical meaning, is a further question, to be considered in its place. Meanwhile none of those who assign such further meaning to it need feel themselves thereby precluded from considering its most obvious primary drift.

Most, then, if not all, of those who have prosecuted this inquiry agree in regarding the Song as being in form a lyrical drama, probably meant to be acted with music. But views differ as to its exact purport, and as to the intended speakers in the several scenes. According to one view, it is founded on an honourable incident in the early life of Solomon, viz.

his wooing and espousal of a well-born highland maiden called the Shulamite, whom he had met with during a summer sojourn among the forests of Lebanon—Solomon, and none but he, being supposed to be the lover throughout the Song, and the affection of the Shulamite to be devoted to him alone. Another idea, much in vogue at the present day, having the support of Ewald among many others, is that the beloved of the Shulamite is not Solomon, but a shepherd, to whom she remains faithful in spite of the king's attempts to lure her to himself. With this purpose the latter brings her to his pavilion in Lebanon, and afterwards to his palace in Jerusalem; he surrounds her with luxury, he appeals to her in impassioned strains, and the ladies of his court solicit her to comply; but her heart remains true to her beloved shepherd, and she escapes to him at last, and rejoins him among her native hills. According to this view, the original moral of the Song is the triumph of pure true love over temptation, Solomon himself being represented as the tempter. There are certainly passages in the poem which suggest this idea of its purport, which is in itself an attractive one to modern thought, as investing the story with what we may call a romantic interest. It is, however, a comparatively modern view, having been first proposed by Jacobi (1771), and taken up subsequently by many critics of repute. No ancient interpreter of the literal meaning of the Song seems to have thought of a shepherd rival to the royal bridegroom. Nor does the supposition of one seem necessary for giving an intelligible meaning to the various parts of the Song. When the Shulamite (chap. i. 7) apostrophizes her lover as a shepherd, and longs to find him where he feeds his flocks, she may be speaking poetically, under such pastoral images, of the king himself, who may, further, have assumed the character of a shepherd when he first wooed her in her rural home. Her account of herself (chap. v. 2, etc.) as wandering through the streets of Jerusalem, and being maltreated by the watchmen, while she

sought him whom her soul loved, being only the relation of a dream, may have been suggested by a prolonged absence of the king from the palace, where he had left her with the ladies of his court, and a temporary, though unfounded, misgiving on her part as to the continuance of his affection for her; and lastly, the closing scene (chap. viii. 5, etc.), in which she revisits with her beloved her mother's home, and declares so forcibly the unquenchable power of the fire of love, may denote a return to her native haunts with the royal bridegroom himself, whom she had implored (chap. vii. 11, etc.) to come with her once more to the pleasant country where their love began. The latter view of the purport of the Song is the one adopted in the *Speaker's Commentary*, which may be here referred to as an exposition of it easily accessible to English readers. The view which involves a shepherd lover may be found in Mr. Ginsburg's translation (1857) of the work of Prof. Meier of Tübingen (1854).<sup>1</sup>

The following may be given as an account of the general plan of the poem, both of the theories above referred to being kept in view. It is divided into at least four main sections, marked by the recurrence at the end of the first three of the refrain (ii. 7, iii. 5, and viii. 4), "I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes, and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up, nor awake love, till it please" (not, apparently, "*my* love, till *he* please," as in the A. V.). This seems to be an adjuration addressed by the Shulamite to the court ladies, deprecating artificial incentives to passion; it expresses the idea, which runs through the whole Song, of true love being a flame that comes of itself, and that will not be controlled (cf. viii. 7). The scene of the first two sections and of the last is in the forest country of Lebanon; that of the third is in Solomon's palace at Jerusalem; and this

<sup>1</sup> See article on Canticles in *Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by W. Smith, for a full account of the literature on the subject of the Song, and of the view entertained about it.

section may be further subdivided into two at chap. v. 2. The drama opens in the king's pavilion, where the Shulamite, newly introduced, is discovered among the "daughters of Jerusalem," *i.e.* the ladies of the court. They begin by singing an amorous song in praise of Solomon (vers. 2-4); the Shulamite (ver. 5, etc.), shrinking from their gaze, apologizes and accounts for her sunburnt face, and (ver. 7) invokes her absent shepherd (whether the king or another), wondering where he can be. Ver. 8 may be the playful reply of the ladies, or the words of the king himself, who, having entered the pavilion, addresses her in vers. 9, 10 with allusion to her rustic ornaments, which he compares to the trappings of Pharaoh's harnessed steeds. The ladies now chime in (ver. 11), undertaking to provide her with suitable adornments of gold and silver. At ver. 12 the king may be supposed to have sat down to table, while a lady (perhaps the Shulamite, on the supposition of her affection being for him) anoints his head, singing at the same time a song suggested by the odour of the ointment. From ver. 15 to ii. 7 the conversation is between Solomon and the Shulamite; but whether her own amorous language has reference to him or to another depends on the view taken of the purport of the song. In either case he woos her tenderly, in language suitable to the surrounding scene, and according to one supposition, she returns his affection; according to the other, his attempts to win her heart are unavailing. In either case she herself is true and tender. In the following section of the poem (ii. 8-iii. 5) the scene is still laid in the pavilion, where the Shulamite has been left alone with the ladies. She tells them how her beloved (whether Solomon or the shepherd) had first wooed her; how he had sought her, like a young hart leaping upon the mountains, in her secluded home; had spoken to her through the lattice, and invited her, in language that charms all readers still, to come out with him in the delightful spring; and how she had returned his love, but bidden him



depart till the morning (vers. 16, 17). (Ver. 15, "Take us the foxes," etc., may have been a fragment of a vineyard song with which she had playfully replied to his addresses.) Then (iii. 1-4) she recounts an uneasy, anxious dream after her lover's departure, which, however, had ended happily. The happy ending may denote (according to one view) a foreboding of the return of Solomon on a following day to her widowed mother's home with proposals of espousal, or (according to the other) of eventual marriage with her shepherd, notwithstanding the attempts of Solomon to seduce her. In the third section, beginning at chap. iii. 6, the scene changes to Jerusalem. The Shulamite is seen approaching from the desert country in a chariot of state, incense burnt before her, and a guard of soldiers around her, while a chorus of singers welcomes her. Solomon comes out from his palace to meet her, wearing his "crown of espousals," while the "daughters of Zion" sing (vers. 6-11). The beginning of chap. iv. to ver. 6 is apparently the king's address to her when he first meets her, in which, beginning with her eyes seen softly gleaming like two doves behind her veil, he uses a succession of pastoral images to describe her beauties. The scene of what follows, to the end of this entire section at viii. 4, continues to be at Jerusalem, where she resides, surrounded with splendour, in the royal palace. According to one view, she is well contented with her lot, and devoted to Solomon, having been honourably espoused to him as his favourite queen, though still (as is expressed in the passage beginning at vii. 11) longing for a return with him to the simplicity of country life. According to the other view, all his tender addresses to her, and the caresses and flatteries of the ladies, are in vain, her own amorous expressions having her beloved shepherd for their object, who is further supposed to have followed her to the royal city. In chap. v. 2 she again tells the daughters of Jerusalem an uneasy dream, similar in some respects to her former one, but dif-

ferent. Her beloved had seemed to knock at her door, saying, "Open to me, my sister, my love, my dove, my undefiled; for my head is filled with dew, and my locks with the drops of the night." She had lingered in rising from her couch to open to him, and when she did so, he was gone. She had then seemed to wander forth in search of him, and to have been seized by the watchmen in the streets of Jerusalem, and ignominiously treated by them; but she still longs for her beloved, and charges the ladies to find him, and tell him that she is sick of love. This being told as a dream only, it does not follow that it is a narration of facts. If the theory of a shepherd lover be correct, its drift is obvious; otherwise it may have been suggested (as has been said above) by the prolonged absence of Solomon from the palace, and a consequent misgiving as to his continued constancy, of which, however, he soon afterwards reassures her, when he comes in and addresses her (vi. 4-9) in his old enamoured strain. The meaning of the passage vi. 10-vii. 9 is apparently as follows: The Shulamite issues from her chamber in the morning, probably in beautiful array; the ladies greet her with flattering words: "Who is she that looketh forth as the dawn, fair as the moon," etc. Careless of their adulation, she reverts in reply to her early country life, and proceeds on her way; they beg her to return, and dance before them—"Return, return, O Shulamite; return, return, that we may gaze at thee."—"What will ye see in a Shulamite?"—"As it were the dance of Mahanaim." (Such is the probable rendering of the end of ver. 13.) Then she may be supposed to have performed for their gratification some dance of her native country, known as "the dance of Mahanaim," while they sing in praise of her grace and beauty. Beginning from her nimble feet,— "How beautiful are thy sandalled feet, O prince's daughter!"—they go on to describe her upwards,—her lower limbs flexible and glancing like a wreath of jewels, her girdle, her waving embroidered robe, her breasts like twin

gazelles, her neck like a tower of ivory, her eyes like limpid wells, her stately countenance, and her dark lustrous head like forest-crowned Carmel, adding (according to one rendering of the latter part of ver. 5), "the hair of thine head like purple (some rich dark colour); a king fettered by the ringlets." The effect of the scene is enhanced if we suppose this last expression to be suggested by the entrance of the king, who stands gazing and entranced, and then, when she has ceased dancing, approaches her with the words (ver. 6), "How fair and how pleasant art thou, O love, daughter of delight! This thy stature is like to a palm-tree, and thy breasts to clusters," etc. It is easy to conceive how effective the whole scene might be in a dramatic representation, the poetry of the language used being throughout so beautiful.

At the end of this section of the poem, of which the scene is in Jerusalem, the Shulamite expresses her longing for the country of her birth with its simple joys, and invites her beloved to take her there once more (vii. 11–viii. 4). If Solomon is her beloved, the appeal is made to him, perhaps after the dance above described; if there is a shepherd in the case, she may be supposed to have escaped from the palace, and rejoined him. In either case, her desire is for simple conjugal felicity, away from the luxury of the court, in her mother's home. In the concluding section (viii. 5–14) her desire is gratified. She is seen from the hills above, coming up from the wilderness, leaning on her beloved: they pause under a tree near the mother's home, where they had once plighted their vows to each other: there she desires to be set as a seal on the heart of her beloved, and declares in thrilling words the inexorable power of love, which is as a flame from God, which no water can quench, and no gold can buy (the expression translated in the A. V., "*which hath* a most vehement flame," is literally "even a flame of JAH;" cf. Ps. lxxiii. 4). The passage which follows (exclusive of ver. 14, which ends the Song, and might have followed

naturally after ver. 7) has the appearance of an episode, and is so marked in our Authorized Version. The speakers in vers. 8, 9, may be the brethren and old companions of the Shulamite mentioned in ver. 13, who may also be supposed to have hailed her approach in the first clause of ver. 5. In view of her happy return, they bethink them of her little sister, of tender age, and still among them. "What shall we do for *her* (asks one band) when lovers come to court her?" Another band replies to the effect that, if she prove as a wall, strong in virtue, she should be honoured and rewarded; but should she prove as a door, open to seduction, they would fence her well. Then in ver. 10 the Shulamite may be the speaker: "I have been as a wall, and behold my reward." Next follows a sort of parable founded on the figure of a vineyard of the king's, let out to keepers; the application of which, in ver. 12, is to us obscure. Then, in ver. 13, the "beloved" may be supposed to speak: "Thy old companions hear thy voice with joy; speak also again to me;" and she replies with the same strain that she had sung to him from her lattice of old. But she sings it with a difference now. Then she had sung "until the day break, and the shadows flee away, turn, my beloved, and be thou like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Bether (*i.e.* of division—the cloven mountains, parting me and thee)." She now sings, "Make haste, my beloved, and be thou like to a roe or to a young hart upon the mountains of spices." The time of division, of trial, of anxiety during absence, is over now; and the married pair are left happy together in the sweet woodland country, on the spicy mountains, where their love began.

Such appears to be the original purport (however variously interpreted) of the Song of Solomon, which is of singular beauty, regarded only as an idyllic drama founded (we may suppose) on fact. Its supposed mystical meaning calls in the next place for brief notice. Some, then, from a feeling that a

mere human love-song is out of place in the Scripture canon, have regarded it as an allegory, intended only to express religious ideas under human images. But surely there are few now who, examining it without bias, can fail to find in it the signs of a real human story. Others, perceiving such undoubted signs, conceive that the writer, under inspiration, so treated his human subject as to convey a mystical as well as a literal meaning:—the love of Solomon (or of the shepherd) for the Shulamite being presented as a type of the Saviour's love to the Church or the individual soul, while the bride's unswerving love, as well as her trials, are regarded as similarly significative. These two views may be called the *allegorical* and the *typical*. Support to the former is found in certain passages of the prophetic writings, which express the relations of the LORD to His people under the image of those of a husband to his spouse; and to the latter, especially in some of the psalms, called Messianic, which, though generally acknowledged to have had an original human application, are quoted in the New Testament as prophetic of Christ, and in their own language suggest an ideal meaning. Notable among these is Ps. xlv., which appears to have been written as an epithalamium on the marriage of a king (possibly of Solomon to the King of Egypt's daughter), and yet in its own language seem evidently to rise above its immediate subject, and suggest an ideal beyond, of which the human king and human marriage are but types and adumbrations. But we fail to find in the Song of Solomon any such internal evidence of a higher meaning. There is in it no intimation of an ideal theocratic king,—of the SON as partaker of the divine throne, and of his endless reign of righteousness. It belongs to a different class of composition from the Psalms, and has none of their distinctly religious fervour. Its place is not in that significative series of inspired utterances which (based, it is supposed, at any rate in part, on Nathan's message to David, 2 Sam. vii. 12–18) go on till the close of prophecy, ever

renewing, enlarging, and glorifying the growing idea of a divine King of Righteousness to come. Nor was it ever, as far as we know, used, as the Psalms were, in the temple services; nor is it once, as they are, referred to in subsequent Scripture as having a prophetic import. In the Pauline Epistles (including in this category the Epistle to the Hebrews) an intimate acquaintance with the whole of the Old Testament is evident; and history, psalm, and prophecy are abundantly referred to as significant of divine relations, and prophetic of the Messiah. But there is not found a single quotation from the Song. This entire absence of all reference to it affords surely an argument of considerable force against its supposed mystical meaning. There is, in fact, no evidence of a recognition of such a meaning earlier than the Talmud: and though early Fathers, and divines after them, have interpreted it in this sense, yet their authority is not infallible; nor are the Fathers to be followed blindly in matters of biblical criticism.

If, then, we find no solid ground for supposing the Song to have been either written as an allegory or intended originally to bear a typical sense, how are we to account for its place in the canon, which, as having been endorsed by Christ and His apostles, we regard as collectively the word of God? The following answers may be given to this question:—

One thing that makes the Bible interesting and edifying beyond any other book is the variety of its contents. The Old Testament comprises all kinds of Hebrew literature, bearing on providence, religion, morality, and human affections;—the compositions being of various dates, so as to present a continuous picture of the history and development of the peculiar people. Further, in whatever sense it may be truly said that the whole volume is inspired, it is evident from the very character of its varied contents that all of them cannot be attributed to an equal divine afflatus. We cannot, for instance, regard genealogies, and records of battles, or the philosophical and somewhat sceptical musings of Ecclesiastes,

as inspired in the same sense as are spiritual and prophetic psalms, or the utterances of a rapt Isaiah, heralded by "Thus saith the LORD." Such being the Bible as a whole, it would have been incomplete for its purpose had it not contained some specimen of the poetry peculiarly characteristic of the golden reign of Solomon. We should have been left in ignorance of one phase of thought and feeling through which the peculiar people passed, and of the taste and culture of that glorious epoch. It was, indeed, a period marked by artistic, literary, and commercial, rather than religious development; but still it was a stage in the providential education of the nation for the fulfilment of its destinies which it is good for us to know of.

Be it remembered also that all pure taste and culture appeal to and bring out the spiritual faculties of man, and have about them a kind of divinity. It was a true instinct that prompted the ancients to invoke the Muses, attributing art and poetry to a heavenly inspiration. Men thereby obtain glimpses of ideals as yet unrealized, and are civilised, refined, and elevated. And thus, were it only as an assertion of the principle that such influences are not to be despised by the religious, that they are under no ban, but have their place and function among a God-fearing people, the Song's place in the canon may well be justified, even though it be regarded merely as a poem, and fail to yield to some of us any distinct religious lesson.

Be it noted further that the Song in itself is as pure as it is lovely, being thus in striking contrast with much of the amatory poetry of classical literature. Any parts of our Authorized Version that seem to have a tinge of grossness are, so far as they suggest this, apparently mistranslated. For example, the description by the ladies of the Shulamite as she dances, and her own description to them of her absent beloved (v. 10-16), seem to denote, not (as some expressions in our version might suggest) the nude, but the robed forms of the persons thus poetically described. The Song is, indeed, throughout

warmly amorous in tone ; but it is right for the bridegroom to be enamoured of his bride ; nor is it any reproach to her if for him she be "sick of love." It is true, too, that, if we take the view of Solomon himself being the "beloved" of the Shulamite, the picture of mutual affection is to our minds much impaired when we remember that she could have been only one among the many spouses of the polygamous king, though advanced to queenly rank, and for a time his favourite. But even so, we should bear in mind that, in the age of the Song, and with Solomon for its hero, no higher ideal could have been presented to our view. The seraglios of Eastern kings—including even David—were facts to which a royal love-story of the age must of necessity conform. And at any rate, Solomon being supposed the hero, the Song is founded on an incident which shows him, in respect to amatory relations, at his best ; forming in the spring-tide of his life a sincere and warm attachment to a virtuous and well-born maiden, whom he espouses honourably, and treats with all tenderness and respect. Nor would there be anything, according to the current code of the day, derogatory to the maiden in her relations to the king, or her position after marriage. To those, however, who accept the theory of a shepherd lover, there is no ground for dissatisfaction on this head, even according to our purer code of morals. They may regard it as a voice from the country, where primitive purity was still held in honour, against the licentiousness of the court ; the pure northern heroine being made to pass through its temptations unscathed, faithful to her early vows, and to her one true love. Whichever view be taken, we may well believe that among the many songs of Solomon's reign there would be some in vogue of a character much less edifying ; and it is significant that the only one that has been preserved so as to find a place in Scripture should be such as this is,—a song of true love, breathing of the country, and fresh as spring. Thus, though it be regarded only as a picture of what conjugal love



should be,—of the legitimate influence of that strongest of human passions, so tender in its purity, so gross in its corruption,—the Song may well vindicate for itself its place in the canon. Nor is a kind of divine inspiration to be denied to the bard who has given to the world so lovely an ideal. For, as has been said, there are many kinds and degrees of inspiration; all good and perfect gifts come down from the Father of lights; and whatsoever things are pure, lovely, and of good report, are illumined from above.

In justice to the mystical interpreters, something more remains to be said. Though there may be no good ground for attributing a distinct religious meaning originally to the Song, yet it by no means follows that it is not legitimately capable of a religious application. We have abundance of scriptural sanction for regarding conjugal relations as typical of divine, and the natural affections of the human heart as illustrative of heavenly love. Not only have we those passages in psalm and prophecy that have been alluded to above, but also our Lord's own designation of Himself as the Bridegroom, the marriage of the Lamb in the Revelation of St. John, and the well-known verses in the Epistle to the Ephesians, in which marriage, with all its sanctity and tenderness, is spoken of as "signifying to us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and His Church." With such sanction, those divines who have treated the Song as a parable of divine love are not certainly to be accused of mere fancifulness or extravagance with regard to the general principle of such spiritual application. Nor are devout Christians now precluded from deriving edification from it as thus regarded.

J. BARMBY.

## EVOLUTION.

It seems to be overlooked by many that the doctrine of evolution in the ordinary evolutionary sense is yet only a mere hypothesis — that there has not yet been discovered one scientific fact, truth, or principle by which to establish and illustrate it. Not only is this the case, but it is sternly opposed by a vast amount of really ascertained scientific truth, in the region of geology, botany, and natural history. There is therefore no need whatever for theologians to begin and reconstruct their principles of Biblical interpretation, and remould their views of Scripture, especially as the reconstruction demanded by the doctrines of evolution is so great as to efface almost entirely the plain natural complexion of many fundamental portions of God's word.

In view of the truth now stated we have read with not a little disappointment the sixth of the Bampton Lectures for 1884, by the Lord Bishop of Exeter, who is now promoted to the Bishopric of London. It seems to us that the Bishop has conceded far too much to the claims of evolutionists. He speaks of evolution as the "present leading scientific doctrine." And he begins to consider how much has been made fairly probable in favour of it. Pursuing this course (p. 162), he starts with the supposed gaseous condition out of which the world, and the entire solar system, may have been formed; after passing through various changes, by which the earth and all the heavenly orbs may have been brought to their present state of existence. This doctrine is rightly supported by the great name of Laplace. On this point the Bishop thus concludes: "The whole solar system may and probably did come into its present condition in this way. It certainly could have

been so formed, and there is no reason for supposing that it was formed in any other way" (p. 163).

We quite agree with the conclusion here reached. The scientific theory delineated by the Bishop, as to the mode by which the whole solar system has been formed, is a highly probable one. But it proves nothing whatever for evolution. It seems apparent in this Bampton Lecture that evolution and development have not been discriminated. And this allows the fallacy to operate by which the Bishop and many others beside are carried away from solid ground into merely hypothetical regions. Let us take the whole stellar system, and see what its history indicates. And let us assume that every solid orb in the universe has been formed from gaseous elements, yet after all no shadow of evolution appears. The whole tower of Babel was formed by a combination of individual bricks. But in raising the tower by this combination, no brick required to change its nature. So, in the construction of stellar orbs by the combination of the gaseous or atomic elements of matter, no change required to be effected, in any one atom or element of this matter. As seen by spectrum analysis, worlds now in a glowing gaseous condition consist of precisely the same kind of atoms and elements as are found locked up in those solidified orbs with which we have any acquaintance. The atoms of sodium, iron, or hydrogen, now glowing in the sun, are precisely the same as the atoms of the same elements on the earth. To see this, we have only to put them into corresponding conditions and observe their behaviour. Here, then, we have the testimony of the whole universe to the truth, that the real elements of matter are unchanging, and so far as the power or knowledge of man goes, they are unchangeable. These elements, especially in their atomic simplicity, constitute the real species of matter, either in the heavens above or in the earth beneath. We have thus in matter very distinct and well-defined species, and the number of these species necessarily corresponds

exactly with the number of chemical elements existing in matter. "Beyond the sub-division mechanically possible, we must think of substance or matter as consisting of particles ultimately indivisible. Of these atoms, according to the present standpoint of science, we are obliged to admit as many different species as are not chemically reducible to more simple elements" (Prof. Oscar Schmidt in *The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism*, p. 17 : 1875).

The individual members of each species of matter are the ultimate atoms, and we are perfectly safe in challenging all the scientific men of the world to give one instance in which one atom of any element ever passed into the atom of any other element, or ever showed any signs of approaching such a change. If there were such changes, the very foundations of chemical science would be upset. No chemist could then predict how any substance might behave in a chemical reaction, and the very laws of this science would become effete. The very essence of the science lies in the absolute reliability and unchangeableness of the atoms which constitute the individual members of the species of inanimate matter. In the animal kingdom species are also well defined by distinctive outlines, and their individual members are also units which never give up their nature or abandon their kind. Varieties and modifications do appear, but no one case has yet been found in which varieties or modifications have ever transgressed the boundaries of species. It is still true—and we believe will ever remain true—that every species remains according to its kind. Herein also lies the sure foundation of science in the region of natural history. Varieties are often greatly promoted by the interference of man, and when that is withheld reversion to type takes place. Darwin himself affords a very good illustration of this, in affirming that if all the varieties of doves were allowed to go into a wild state, they would all revert to the original dark slaty blue rock pigeon. The laws of nature, which are the laws of God, thus

operate to preserve, and not to transmute species. This being the case, and it being true also that in all the domain of science no case even approaching the transmutation of species has been found, it is quite premature to reconstruct the interpretation of Scripture to meet the demands of this hypothetical evolution. On this ground we strongly object to the concessions made by Bishop Temple. We have assumed as the starting-point of mistake that the Bishop does not distinguish between *development* and *evolution*. But wherein lies the difference? Take an illustration in the living sphere. A frog passes through various differing stages of being in starting from the initial point of its being and proceeding to the point of maturity. This is called by some evolution, but it is only development. It is simply advancement from beginning to end, within perpetually remaining limits. No evidence has ever yet been found, that when the frog matured as a frog, it then began to change its species—to give up its kind, and then become something else. If such a case were found, that would be evolution in the proper evolutionist sense. But since no such case has been found in any department of science, we must abide by development and leave evolution out of the reckoning. In the history of the formation of worlds from the initial stage of glowing gas, through all the combinations and recombinations in their varying gaseous, liquid, and solid conditions, there is development,—advancement from one stage to another,—but there is no shade of evidence whatever that any unit of the species of matter ever changed its kind, hence no evidence whatever of the existence of evolution.

Bishop Temple applies almost unlimited faith to the Darwinian doctrine of “natural selection” or “survival of the fittest.” “One species of animal,” he says, “has been preserved by length of neck, which enabled it to reach high-growing fruits and leaves; another by a thicker skin, which made it difficult for enemies to devour; another by a colour

which made it easier to hide. One plant has been preserved by a bright flower which attracted insects to carry its pollen to other flowers of its kind; another by a sweet fruit which attracted birds to scatter its seed. Meanwhile other animals and plants that had not these advantages perished for the lack of them. . . . The high probability cannot be denied that by evolution of this kind the present races of living creatures have been formed" (p. 166). In the mind of the Bishop, this kind of language may not be supposed to remove the Creator to a greater distance from His works. But with many evolutionists it is so used, and its tendency is to operate in that direction. It may be supposed that this is but the mode by which the Creator works in the production of species. But if so, it will require great straining of the sacred narrative of the creation, wherein it is affirmed that God made the creatures of His hand respectively after their kind, ere a harmony can be established between the doctrine so expressed and that of evolution. It will not be denied that certain characteristics of living creatures and plants mentioned by the Bishop do operate in the direction of preservation. All creatures, however, have conditions of being by which they are preserved more or less. But to affirm the "high probability" that such conditions or characteristics have formed "the present races of living creatures," is to proceed without a shred of evidence. The Bishop seems to forget that the science of geology cannot furnish even *one fact* to support such a conclusion. But further, the doctrines of geology are of such a nature that they seem to preclude the possibility of the evolution hypothesis ever being verified. The rock strata of the earth show, that when new races of beings came into existence, they came in a fully developed condition at once, and not by slow imperceptible gradation, from one species into another; that instead of changing their species into higher species, the tendency has been rather to degenerate in their kind, and to die out as many species have done.

Assuredly there is nothing here to imperil the sacred narrative, or to require that it should be cast into evolutionary mould.

Moreover, it seems to be entirely forgotten by men who are trying to reconcile the Bible with evolution, that this so-called law of "natural selection" is only a Darwinian fancy. Dr. Darwin himself says: "It seems to me almost certain that an ordinary hoofed quadruped might be converted into a giraffe. . . . In every district some one kind of animal will almost certainly be able to browse higher than the others; and it is almost equally certain that this one kind alone could have its neck elongated for this purpose through natural selection and the effects of increased use" (*Origin of Species*, pp. 178, 179). To illustrate these supposed transitions of organic beings, Darwin states that "in North America the black bear was seen by Hearne swimming for hours with widely open mouth, thus catching, almost like a whale, insects in the water" (*ibid.* p. 141). And Sir David Brewster quotes him, adding by way of comment: "Even in so extreme a case as this, if the supply of insects were constant, and if better adapted competitors did not already exist in the country, I can see no difficulty in a race of bears being rendered by natural selection more and more aquatic in their structure and habits, with larger and larger mouths, till a creature was produced as monstrous as a whale" (*Good Words*, p. 5, 1862).

Since the doctrine of natural selection consists only in a concatenation of extraordinary suppositions unconfirmed by any scientific fact, it is certainly very far from necessary to remodel the natural interpretation of the Bible narrative, as Bishop Temple does, in order to afford it accommodation.

"To these arguments," now noticed, the Bishop adds, "the strongest corroboration is given by the frequent occurrence, both in plants and animals, of useless parts which still remain as indications of organs that once were useful and have long become useless. Animals that now live permanently in the

dark have abortive eyes which cannot see, but indicate an ancestor with eyes that could see. Animals that never walk have abortive legs hidden under their skin, useless now, but indicating what was useful once. Our knowledge no doubt in this as in any other province of nature is but the merest fraction of what may be known therein. But there is no evidence whatever to show that what we have observed is not a fair sample of the whole. And so taking it, we find that the mass of evidence in favour of evolution of plants and animals is enormously great and increasing daily" (p. 167).

The doctrine of rudimentary structures is thus introduced. Evolutionists very eagerly cling to it, but its service is only that of semblance; in reality it contradicts them to the face. The first thing here affirmed by the Bishop is, that these rudimentary structures are "useless." This is mere assumption, and is contradicted by all experience. It is a well-established doctrine in anatomy and physiology, that when an organ is really thrown out of use it disappears very speedily, and it does not require millions of years, or even generations, to effect its removal. It will disappear even within a short period of one individual's lifetime. Drs. Guy and Ferrier state that "contractions of the limbs or joints are imitated (by impostors) by long-continued flexion, aided by *inaction* and the use of tight bandages" (*Forensic Medicine*, p. 154). Muscles atrophy when thrown out of action by injury to the motor nerve (see Kirke's *Handbook of Physiology*, p. 348 : 1867). The writer had the opportunity of observing that a muscle connected with the shoulder joint had entirely vanished because thrown out of action by the stiffening effect of rheumatic disease. But rudimentary or abortive structures always remain and never seem to diminish in the least degree, *e.g.* the plantaris muscle in man, though rudimentary, always remains unchanged. It is therefore a begging of the whole question to assume that rudimentary structures are useless.



In the *Academy*, October 1869, Professor Huxley tells us—and in this he agrees with geologists—"that the horse has existed in its present form since the pliocene epoch"—a period long antecedent to the appearance of man on the earth; yet the splint bones of the horse are rudimentary or "abortive," and through all these countless years he has made no change; how then can it be said they are useless? Had they been fully developed as fingers or toes, they would have been a serious encumbrance. But as they are, they serve their end and cannot be useless.

The second thing affirmed by Bishop Temple concerning these "abortive" structures is, that they are "indications of organs that once were useful and have long become useless." This is another *petitio principii*. It is true that Darwin says: "Organs in a rudimentary condition plainly show that an early progenitor had the organ in a fully developed condition" (*Origin of Species*, p. 424). This is a confession of Darwin's faith, but where is his proof? No item of proof has ever yet appeared. Can this be the meaning of the rudimentary milk gland in the male human breast? Does it imply that man's male ancestors had it fully developed, and that they suckled their young? If it prove anything in accordance with the evolutionary argument, it would simply be, that a man is descended from his mother. This is the practical *reductio ad absurdum* of the argument. We need not trace it farther.

The third item stated by the Bishop on this point is, that "Animals that now live permanently in the dark have abortive eyes, which cannot see, but indicate an ancestor with eyes that could see." This again is utterly destitute of proof. It occurs as an item of Darwinian faith, but that is all. "On my view," says Dr. Darwin, "we must suppose that American animals, having in most cases ordinary powers of vision, slowly migrated by successive generations from the outer world into the deeper and deeper recesses of the Kentucky caves, as did European animals into the caves of Europe."

(*Origin of Species*, p. 111). This Darwinian supposition is a most unnatural one. Animals endowed with ordinary powers of vision would certainly not migrate in the direction of perpetual darkness, but as the flower turns to the sun, so would they seek the light. But how are these rudimentary eyes to be accounted for? There is no evidence—and it is contrary to nature—that animals once endowed with a faculty because they required it, ever caused the organ of that faculty to be reduced to a rudimentary condition by refusing to use it. And we have just seen that rudimentary structures do not prove descent from ancestors in which they were fully developed.

Evolution utterly fails in ignoring the mental stamp which differentiates one species of animals from another. At certain stages of development different species are sometimes scarcely distinguishable. But a mental endowment in which distinguishing characteristics appear, indicates some radical distinction according to the will of the Creator. The mere varieties of physical form, on which evolution so much builds, count for almost nothing. There is something deeper in which the different indications of kind reside, which is affected little or nothing by these physical variations. Much has been done to indicate physical similarity between man and the anthropoid apes. But though the gap in brain development, which is great, were bridged over, and the ape's brain became as large as that of man, it would not follow that the ape would be one with man, or any nearer to oneness. He would simply be a more fully developed ape, and all the less like man. There is in the mental endowment the imprint of the Creator which will ever defy all attempts to transmute species by the cultivation of physical variation.

Are rudimentary or abortive structures, then, without meaning or use? Because they seem to be of little or no use to the creature itself, the evolutionist declares they are useless. But as no man lives unto himself alone, neither does any other creature. Every creature has at least a relationship

to the Creator. And the great doctrine is divinely affirmed, that all are made after their respective kinds. And it is necessary that in themselves they should bear witness to this. The starry heavens are declared in Holy Scripture to be the work of God, and in many senses they proclaim: "The hand that made them is divine." By spectrum analysis every shining orb proclaims itself kindred with all beside. The great system of gravitation, too, makes it manifest that all are the work of one hand, and in accordance with one great plan. Shining may not be a matter of importance to the sun himself. But to God and men it is of great importance. And is it of no importance that plan and order should be *seen* to permeate all the works of God's hand, and that the assurance made that animals and plants were created by God in separate genera or kinds, and that these very genera or kinds should bear marks by which the divine assurance could be verified? What, then, are those rudimentary structures but divine evidences of plan and order? All groups of animals have certain marks in common. To suit certain habits of life some of these are fully developed; and where the habits of life do not require them they are kept in abeyance, or in a rudimentary condition. But they are still witnesses to plan, and evidences of kind. The foetal whale does not require teeth, but it has them, as one of the marks belonging to the group of mammalian animals with which it is identified. How could natural science be established, how could classification be made, how, *e.g.*, could the whale living in water be properly identified with its kind if it had not in some degree or another those characteristics which belong to its group? And to the believer in the word of God, it ought to be unspeakably important that he can verify the truth that at the creation God put a stamp of kind on the creatures of His hand, and a stamp which no art of man can efface.

The doctrine of general plan is subservient to science as well as Scripture. As stated concerning the permanency of

the atoms of matter, if kind could be changed the foundations of science would be removed. What would be true in chemistry would be true in botany and natural history as well. As stated by Principal Dawson, the tendency of evolution is to throw down the science of zoology and botany "at the feet of a system of debased metaphysics" (*The Earth and Man*, p. 319). "Thus we are led," says Dr. Carpenter, "by the study of *morphology* to the perception of that great general truth, which is, perhaps, the highest yet attained in the science of organization, and which is even yet far from being fully developed, that in the several tribes of organized beings we have *not* a mere aggregation of individuals, each formed upon an independent model, and presenting a type of structure peculiar to itself, but that we may trace throughout each assemblage a *conformity to a general plan*, of which every modification has reference either to the peculiar conditions under which the race is to exist, or to its relations to other beings. Of these special modifications, again, the most important themselves present a conformity to a plan of less generality; those next in order, to a plan of still more limited extent; and so on, until we reach those which are peculiar to the individual itself. This, in fact, is the philosophic expression of the whole science of classification" (*Principles of Physiology*, etc., p. 568).

This great doctrine of general plan as maintained in nature, and witnessed to by rudimentary structures, proclaims the abiding power and presence of God in the midst of His works. He has given marks and limits to species which neither men nor other creatures can efface. His works proclaim His great name to be near. By this doctrine even the abortive eye of the blind fish becomes radiant with divine light. With Agassiz, therefore, we would say: "Does not the existence of a rudimentary eye in the blind fish show that these animals, like all others, were created with their peculiarities by the fiat of the Almighty; and that this

rudiment of eye was left them as a remembrance of the general plan of structure of the great type to which they belong?"

Bishop Temple sees that the evidence in favour of Darwinian evolution is "incomplete." But, as we have seen, he nevertheless concedes as much to it as though its evidence were complete. So far does he go in this direction, that he, as other evolutionists generally do, breaks down the Bible narrative to a very large degree in order to make way for it. The ordinary interpretation of Scripture is incompatible with evolution. Bishop Temple therefore is constrained to regard the narrative of the creation in Genesis as a mere "allegory." He believes "that the purpose of the revelation is not to teach science at all. It is to teach great spiritual and moral lessons" (p. 181). The Bishop does not seem to know that he is here playing into the hands of infidelity. The infidel sees at once what follows, and he says: "If there is no literal narrative of the creation, then there is no fall, no incarnation, no atonement, no really divine Jesus Christ." Moreover, though the purpose of the Bible is not "to teach science at all," is it the case that when it presents truth it speaks contrary to science? If it does not, then it does teach science, for science and truth are one. But if it do, then its spiritual and moral lessons will avail but little. Respecting the record of the creation of man, the Bishop says: "The narrative is not touched by the question, Was this a single act done in a moment, or a process lasting through millions of years?" (p. 181). One is very much struck by the amount of liberty so freely taken with the sacred record, and when one reads, Gen. ii. 7: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul," it does not appear as if this were "a process lasting through millions of years." And especially as the transaction is said to have

been accomplished within the limits of the sixth day (Gen. i. 26-31). But the Bishop may claim for the meaning of "day" a long geological period, including millions of years. If so, then he will find Mr. Bradlaugh and his unbelieving party coming and demanding with irresistible effect, that the same meaning be put on the word "day" in Ex. xx. 11: "In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it." It is impossible to take these to denote any other than our ordinary week days of twenty-four hours' duration. And herein is the inspired interpretation of the meaning of "day" as it occurs in the narrative of the six days' work of creation.

In giving to "day" the meaning of a long geological age or epoch, the Bishop imposes an invention of the nineteenth century of the Christian era, and assumes that the inspired writer used words in a sense which could not have been intelligible until this new meaning was invented. To make the Bible so to speak, is to make it appear anything but a revelation to those to whom it was addressed.

A process of "millions of years" to make man in an evolutionary sense! What would this imply? Much more than science could allow. Consider the chasm existing between man and the highest of the lower animals. How has that been formed? By the imperceptible advance of evolution? yes, we may say *imperceptible*. For in all the knowledge we have of man, from remotest times till now, we see no indications of an evolutionary process, neither are there any indications among the lower creatures; no anthropoid apes are seen marching on to manhood. How then did man part company from his kindred ancestors? To assume that he did, is to assume that two parallel lines will meet, if far enough extended.

If evolution proceeds by such a slow and imperceptible process as is claimed for it, then certainly millions of years would be required to differentiate man as he now is from the lower animals. But although such scientists as Sir William Thomson would allow the duration of the earth to have been long enough to admit of all this, what about the fossil witnesses in the crust of the earth? Why have the rock records of the earth been so partial as to preserve only fossils as perfect specimens of their kind, and to exclude all transitional ones? And as the time claimed is so long, there must have been thousands and tens of thousands of generations of transitional animals, and yet evolutionists admit that not a single transitional fossil has been found. They hope some sample may yet turn up to favour their hypothesis. But not only the Bible, but the rock strata of the earth, show that hope to be groundless. On this point Sir Roderick Murchison thus remarks: "Beginning with the vertebrata; are not the fishes of the old red sandstone as distinct from those of the carboniferous system on the one hand, as from those of the Silurian on the other? M. Agassiz has pronounced that they are so. Are any of the crustaceans, so numerous and well defined throughout the Silurian rocks, found also in the carboniferous strata? I venture to reply, not one" (*Scripture Doctrine of Creation*, p. 239). In his *Testimony of the Rocks*, Hugh Miller writes: "Let me briefly remark respecting this development hypothesis, with which I have elsewhere dealt at considerable length, that while the facts of geologists are demonstrably such, *i.e.* truths capable of proof, the hypothesis is a mere dream, unsupported by a shadow of evidence" (p. 198). The same author states "that the record of the rocks seems to have been written for the very purpose of proving that evolution is impossible." "Barrande expressly states that the appearance of the Cephalopods and Trilobites, two of the best representative

sub-classes of the Cambrio-Silurian invertebrates, is such as if designed expressly to contradict Darwinism. The generals of the army appear first, the drill-sergeants last. The appearance of new forms is sudden and unexpected, while there is no indication of a regular progression." "Miracle, not evolution, is the abundant testimony of the rocks" (*British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, January 1875, pp. 78-81). Agassiz, speaking as a palæontologist, says concerning this theory of transmutation: "Its doctrines contradict what the animal forms buried in the rocky strata of our earth tell us of their own introduction and succession upon the surface of the globe" (quoted from the *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1874). The evolution hypothesis makes all who espouse it run seriously in opposition to the plain common-sense interpretation of Scripture. It leads Bishop Temple to say: "Evolution, such as science has rendered probable, had done its work in forming man such as he is before the narrative (of creation) begins" (p. 185). Taking this alongside the Bible statement, the contradictory impossibility is affirmed, that man was created before he was created, i.e. before the time announced in the narrative of Genesis. Instead of this view being rendered probable by science, we have just seen that true science—not *scientific hypothesis*—makes it absolutely improbable. Science proper and the Bible are therefore at one.

It seems a great pity that a man of such influence and attainments as Bishop Temple should recast the ordinary plain import and exegesis of Scripture to make way for a hypothesis which has not yet obtained one fact that it can claim as real support—that in the highest sense is so unscientific. If the Bishop can make the Bible narrative of the creation, with all its plain matter-of-fact statements, without the shadow of evidence an "allegory," so may he make any other portion of Scripture, even the record of the doings of Jesus Christ. To



such a mode of interpretation there is no limit but one's own conception.

A careful examination of the narrative of the creation in Genesis makes it apparent that Moses confines his description almost entirely to work done on the earth, and apparently to work accomplished within certain limits of the earth, whereon man was at length placed; that the work was not that of originating the globe, but of *reconstructing* it in part at least, so as to fit it up as a habitation for man. In accordance with this view, and as explained in the narrative itself, "heaven" denotes the aerial heaven, wherein birds fly—the firmament—expanse or expanded atmosphere. That the creation as described in the Book of Genesis was not a work of bringing into being is made very plain by Gen. i. 2, where the condition of the earth is described as existing before the work of creation began. This globe, no doubt, was originally brought into being by the Almighty, and, in the light of geology, it is manifest that it had been long existing, and had passed through many creative epochs until it was advanced to the condition described as without form and void, without surface adornment, order, and arrangement, and covered with darkness and deep water. (See Pye Smith's *Scripture and Geology*; *The Creative Week*; *The Creation, or Moses and Science in Harmony*. Prof. Duns' *Lecture on the Creation*, etc.)

Looking at the narrative of the creation thus, there is the recognition of a globe existing through long geological ages, before man came upon it. This allows time to account for fossils, and for all that is preserved and recorded in the crust of the earth, and it contemplates a creation which was a work of reconstruction accomplished within a period of six natural days. This view harmonizes Scripture with Scripture, *e.g.* Gen. i. with Ex. xx. 11. And it adopts a strictly literal common-sense interpretation of the narrative of the creation, and finds it in perfect harmony with all well-ascertained

doctrines embraced within the limits of physical or natural science, and it disregards entirely the baseless hypothesis of that evolution which means the transmutation of species. It recognises the stamp of the Almighty upon the flora and fauna of the earth—everything remains after, or according to, its kind.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

## THE PATRIARCHAL TIMES.

## IV.—THE STORY OF THE FALL.

THAT man was ushered into being in possession of a fully formed, if not also of a perfectly developed manhood, that his mental faculties were all in existence from the first, though not all instantaneously or simultaneously called into exercise, that his moral nature was at least exempt from sin, if it was not unassailably established in goodness, and that his capacity for religion was not a latent possibility waiting evolution at a later stage, but a sublime actuality of which he became conscious the instant he crossed the threshold of life, is the express and unambiguous testimony of the Hebrew Scriptures; and this testimony, as has been shown,<sup>1</sup> so far from being contradicted, is rather strikingly confirmed by the best scientific findings, as well as the most authentic historical investigations. That man, however, is not now so unchallengeably the image of his Maker as he was at the creation, that his manhood has not developed itself along the lines of holiness and truth, as, from the conditions under which he commenced his career, might have been anticipated, that his mental faculties have not been able to keep themselves disentangled from error, that his moral nature has not retained its pristine innocence, that his religious capacity has in large degree undergone a contraction, if it has not in some instances entirely shrivelled up, is no less palpably and irrefragably the witness of world-wide experience. Whatever theories may be resorted

<sup>1</sup> *Monthly Interpreter*, July 1885, art. "The Cradle of the Race."

to in search of an adequate explanation, the fact of man's present intellectual and moral imperfection is too obvious to be denied, even by those who refuse assent to scriptural conceptions of truth and error, of sin and holiness, of a fall and a redemption. Accordingly the object of the present paper will be to inquire whether any reasonable solution can be offered of the existing state of humanity, whether on any credible hypothesis it can be accounted for that man, having started on his high career of conscious existence in the manner above described, with a complete array of mental powers, and with a moral nature uncontaminated by sin, should nevertheless have lapsed universally into a condition of ignorance and error, of sinfulness and wretchedness, out of which he can only raise himself, if indeed he can do so at all without supernatural assistance, after long and painful effort, and sometimes into a state of bestiality and savageism out of which, even with the aid of heaven, it would almost seem as if recovery were impossible; or whether it must remain for ever, to man himself at least, if not to finite intelligences generally, a dark and inscrutable enigma. Adhering to the method thus far pursued, we shall first address our inquiry to the Mosaic narrative of man's primeval state, after which we shall interrogate the records of ancient nations so far as these have been rendered accessible through historical and archæological research, and conclude with a brief examination of the bearing on this profound problem of modern science and philosophy.

1. The Hebrew solution of this enigma is contained in "the story of the fall," which in the Old Testament Scriptures finds a place in immediate succession<sup>1</sup> to the account given of man's paradisiacal or primeval condition. Located in Eden, in a garden of surpassing loveliness and fertility, the site of which formed the subject of a former article,<sup>2</sup> the first man was

<sup>1</sup> Gen. iii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Monthly Interpreter*, August 1885, art. "The Cradle of the Race."

entrusted with the pleasant as well as easy task of dressing and keeping it, i.e. of cultivating it as well as guarding it against the inroads and depredations of the larger animals that roamed without. In the midst of it, and conspicuous amongst the other plants, were two trees in which for him both interest and expectation centred—the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. It does not accord with the purpose of this inquiry to linger over the speculations of theologians and commentators as to what kind of trees they were; it suffices to observe that their names were significant of the uses to which they were put in the moral and religious probation of man. The tree of life was symbolic of that physical as well as spiritual immortality which belonged to him so long as he continued obedient to the law of his Creator, which law for him, as yet untrained in the application of moral distinctions, was summed up in the simple injunction not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. In the day that he transgressed that precept, he would fall beneath the doom of death, he would forfeit the prospect of immortality that lay before him, he would die, as only a soul can die, by being severed in the springs of its being from God, who is its life, and he would expire as an earth-born creature expires, in the only way possible for such, by returning to the dust out of which it was taken. If, as is probable from the biblical account of the transaction, this instruction was given to Adam prior to Eve's appearance by his side, there cannot be a doubt that she was forthwith made aware by her husband of the conditions under which he, as the head of the future family of man, had been placed. As much as this is presupposed in the narrative which follows. In the assault upon Eve's integrity made by the *Nachash*, or serpent, he assumes her acquaintance with the prohibition under which Adam had been placed—"Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of any tree in the garden?" and this assumption the

woman recognises as correct by replying, "Of the fruit of the trees of the garden we may eat; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." Nevertheless the woman yields to the further enticements of the tempter, and at last discerning the tree, on which she has begun to gaze with longing eyes, to be "good for food," "a delight to the eyes," and "a tree to be desired to make one wise," she reaches forth her hand and partakes of the forbidden fruit, giving of it to her husband either then, if he was present, or afterwards, if he was at a distance, so that he also becomes a participant in her transgression. The result was as the *Nachash* had predicted, though not at all as they had expected. "Their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked." They had attained to an experimental knowledge of evil which they did not before possess, no less than of good, which they then realized by its loss. That their moral natures had suffered a change for the worse was revealed by the guilt and shame of which they instantly became conscious, by the terror which seized upon them when they heard the voice of Jehovah Elohim walking in the garden, in the cool of the day, by the lying and deception with which they sought first to hide and then to extenuate their crime, by the fact also that their offspring were more appropriately described as begotten in their father's image than created, as he had been, in God's, and by the melancholy history of their first-born sons, of whom the elder lived to be an unbeliever and a murderer, while the younger died beneath a fratricidal blow. Whatever view be entertained of the historic credibility of the Hebrew narrative, whether the two mystic trees and the speaking serpent be regarded as authentic realities, or relegated to the limbo of the poetic imagination<sup>1</sup> as specimens of that luxuriant verbal drapery in which the religious myth was wont in ancient

<sup>1</sup> Tuch, Bohlen, Oort, etc.

times and in Oriental countries to clothe itself, it is impossible to doubt that the doctrinal residuum which remains after all that is supposed to be non-essential has been brushed aside is, that, on the threshold of existence, and in the person of the original progenitor of the race, human nature suffered such a dissociation as fundamentally affected all subsequent posterity, causing it to be born in a state of sin rather than in a condition of holiness or innocence, and determining the line of its future development to be downward and retrogressive instead of upward and progressive. Whether the Pauline conception of inherited guilt and condemnation, as well as of transmitted moral depravity, can be fairly extracted from the Mosaic narrative of the Fall may be disputed. It is hardly open to debate that the practice of sacrificial worship in which the first pair of Adam's descendants engaged, whether that peculiar cultus was of Divine institution or of human invention, proceeded on the supposition that man was not only fallen into sin, but lying under condemnation, not only deteriorated in his moral nature, but standing in altered relations to God from those which he occupied before the incident in Eden. We are far indeed from thinking either that that incident itself is purely fabulous, or that the record of it is entirely mythical or allegorical. To our mind it seems impossible to challenge its historical accuracy in the face of the allusions<sup>1</sup> made to it in the New Testament by Christ and His apostles, or even in the Old Testament by writers of repute in the Hebrew Church. But, even if it were permissible to cast suspicion on its literary form, it does not appear possible to doubt that, in the estimation of the author of Genesis, of the Hebrew prophets, of Christ, and of the writers of the New Testament Scriptures, man's present state or condition is the result of a gigantic moral and spiritual

<sup>1</sup> John viii. 44; Rom. v. 12, 14, 18; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22; 2 Cor. xi. 3; 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14; Job xxxi. 33; Eccles. vii. 29; Isa. xliii. 27; Hos. vi. 7.

catastrophe which human nature suffered at the outset of its career; or, to use the terminology of science, is the effect and exhibition of a tendency to degeneration, with which as a self-conscious organism it is affected, rather than an intermediate and imperfect stage in an upward process of evolution through which it is slowly but surely passing.

2. Turning to the records of ancient heathen nations, so far as these have been disclosed by the labours of the historian and archæologist, it is, to say the least, remarkable how large a degree of correspondence prevails between the various solutions of this mystery as to man's present condition which these offer and that which we have seen unfolded in the Hebrew Scriptures and indeed in the Bible generally. Nor is it simply that they corroborate the central truth contained in the Eden story, that human nature has experienced a fall, but in a striking manner also they lend a high degree of probability to the literal correctness and historic credibility of the Hebrew narrative.—(1) The *Babylonian* or *Ancient Chaldean* tradition, as deciphered from the cuneiform tablets, unmistakably alludes to the doctrine of a fall. It may be problematical whether, as maintained by Mr. George Smith, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Professor Sayce, and others, the district of Kardunias, with its four rivers, Euphrates, Tigris, Surappi, and Ukui, was the actual site of Eden; it seems unchallengeable that the first inhabitants of that fertile region possessed no inconsiderable acquaintance with an early condition and history of mankind closely resembling that reported in the Hebrew Scriptures.<sup>1</sup> George Smith, indeed, supposed he had recovered a valuable fragment relating to that memorable passage in the Paradise experience of man. After describing on its obverse side, as he imagined, the purity of the first man,—who, by the way, belonged to the dark races, and was called Admi or Adami,—and his

<sup>1</sup> *Chaldean Genesis*, pp. 81–91.



fellowship with the gods, this fragment was supposed to set forth on its reverse side an imperfect account of what seemed to be a Chaldean legend of the fall. The lost lines of writing, it was assumed, recounted the temptation. Where the fragment began, the dragon Tiamat, or the dragon of the deep, was introduced, it was conjectured, as the instrument or agent by whom man's seduction was accomplished. Towards the close, the Lord of the earth was thought to be depicted as cursing in somewhat vehement fashion the man who had "corrupted his purity."

"In the language of the fifty great gods,

By his fifty names he called, and turned away in anger  
from him :

May he be conquered, and at once cut off.

Wisdom and knowledge hostilely may they injure him :

May they put at enmity also father and son, may they  
plunder."

Mr. Smith's translation, however, appears to have been hastily made, and widely differs from that subsequently executed by Dr. Jules Oppert. Alluding to this,<sup>1</sup> M. Lenormant says: "One thing is now quite established—the fragment has no kind of reference to original sin and the curse of man." Professor Sayce<sup>2</sup> regards it as having been a hymn to the Creator. Nevertheless both agree with the opinion expressed by Mr. Smith, that "a form of the story of the fall, similar to that of Genesis, was known in early times in Babylonia." Not only were the primitive Accadians acquainted with "a wicked serpent," the serpent of night and darkness, which had brought about the seduction of man—an archaic Babylonian seal, preserved in the British Museum collection, represents "two figures sitting one on each side of

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1879, art. "The First Sin."

<sup>2</sup> *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, pp. 29, 30.

a tree, holding out their hands to the fruit, while at the back of one is stretched a serpent ;” but the tree of life had its counterpart in the holy and mysterious plant,—“The pine-tree of Eridu,”—which was guarded by genii and a sword turning to all the four points of the compass, and of which numerous representations occur in Assyrian bas-reliefs. Though as yet no text has been discovered authoritatively fixing the precise import of the symbol, there can be little question that it was designed as an emblem of immortality. This at least is a not unwarrantable deduction from the circumstance that it frequently appears surmounted by a winged disc, which was recognised as the symbolic image of the supreme God. It likewise tends to confirm his interpretation that in the idiom of the ante-Semitic population of Chaldea the name of Babylon, Tin-tir-ki, signified “the place of the tree of life.” Perhaps also the lines which follow, taken from a penitential psalm<sup>1</sup> of the same pre-Semitic Babylonians, and belonging to a date anterior to the seventeenth century B.C., contain a reminiscence of the Fall :—

“That which was forbidden by my God, with my mouth I  
ate ;

That which was forbidden by my goddess, in my ignorance  
I trampled upon ;”

and again in the same hymn :—

“The forbidden thing did I eat ;

The forbidden thing did I trample upon.”

(2) Passing now to the *Indian* tradition,<sup>2</sup> which may be viewed as preserving the faith of the early Aryan tribes on this important subject, the same constituent features—a garden with its four rivers and two trees, a period of felicity and innocence, a serpent and a fall—enter into the picture which

<sup>1</sup> *Records of the Past*, pp. 153, 154.

<sup>2</sup> M. Lenormant, *Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1881, art. “Ararat and Eden.”

it sketches of man's primeval condition. According to this ancient myth, the cradle of the human race was a highly elevated tableland in Central Asia overlooked by a lofty mountain, Meru, or "that which has a lake," and encircled by four peaks of lesser elevation, each of which in turn had a smaller lake, supplied from the celestial source Gangâ. Meru was the residence of the holy gods. The expansive plateau on which it stood rejoiced in the names of Svarga-bhuni or Celestial Land, Suvarna-bhuni or Golden Land, Akrida-bhuni or Land of Amusements, Tushita-bhuni or Land of Joy, with others of an equally euphonious description. On each of the four lesser hills and close to its lake an enchanted garden was supposed to exist, in the midst of which grew a wonderful tree called Kalpavrikcha, Kalpadruna, or Kalpataru, meaning, "Tree of the desires or periods," which appears to have been both a tree of life and a tree of knowledge of good and evil, since it prolonged the days of him who ate of it by fulfilling all his desires. From the four lakes issued forth four streams to the four different quarters of the globe, corresponding to the four Paradise Rivers in the Book of Genesis. Here, then, in this district of Meru, the first generations of the human family passed their existence in innocence and bliss. In the later Hindoo literature they are represented as having been endowed with righteousness and perfect faith, as having been exempt from guilt and filled with wisdom wherewith they contemplated the Glory of Vishnu till after a time they were seduced. The king of the evil demons, through whose instrumentality they were cast down from their integrity, was the king of the serpents, named Naga, or the Prince of the Nagis, a term in which some have detected an echo of the Hebrew word Nachash. As in the Hebrew story, so in this, the great serpent is depicted as being eventually conquered by one who tramples on its head. (3) Closely allied to the preceding, both in origin and character, is the *Iranian* or old

*Persian*<sup>1</sup> tradition. Here too the primitive abode of man is established on the summit of a lofty mountain, Harâ-Berezaiti, situated in a cold northerly region east of the Caspian and Aral Seas. On its highest peak, where is "neither day nor night, nor icy wind nor burning heat, nor sickness which is the cause of numerous deaths, nor defilement produced by the daevas," is a garden, the Airyana-Vaedja, in the midst of which lies a lake, the Aravi-çura, from which the waters of immortality flow forth in four different streams. In the middle of the lake grows a single miraculous tree, as in the Indian myth, or, according to another account, two trees corresponding to those of the biblical Gan-Eden, the Vicpa-taokhma or "tree of every seed," from which come all the seeds belonging to the plant world scattered over the earth, and "the white Haoma" or Gâokerena, the tree of life and immortality, the taste of which confers unending existence and protects from every variety of evil, while through it eventually will the dead be restored to life at the resurrection. In this garden of Ahuramazda the first man, Yama, passes his existence in the enjoyment of Edenic blessedness, till, falling into sin, he is cast out and given up to the dominion of the serpent, the evil spirit Angromainyus who finally brings about his death by horrible torments. A later form of the legend, in the Bundeshesh, makes the first pair, whose names are Masha and Mashyâna, live a thousand years in abiding fellowship with Ormuzd, humble in heart, pure in thought, word, and deed, free from every evil and defect, and anticipating heaven as the reward of their continued innocence. By and by, however, an evil demon (Dev) sent by Ahriman, and assuming the guise of a serpent, intrudes himself into their peaceful abode. First, he instils into their minds

<sup>1</sup> Lenormant, *Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1879, art. "The First Sin;" Sept. 1881, art. "Ararat and Eden." Schrader, *Reich's Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums*, art. "Eden."

suspicious thoughts concerning Ahuramazda ; then, becoming bolder, offers them the fruit of the wonderful tree Haoma, or of another tree which he causes to spring up beside it ; and finally completes their seduction from his rival. As a consequence, evil inclinations arise within their hearts, their moral excellence departs, the happiness which they have hitherto enjoyed disappears, they are banished from their garden home. Becoming dwellers in the bleak and sterile country beyond the precincts of Paradise, they betake themselves to hunting, and begin to clothe themselves with the skins of wild beasts. The correspondence of all this with the Hebrew narrative is too apparent to require pointing out. (4) With regard to Egypt, though it does not appear that the story of the fall had assumed any concrete form in the valley of the Nile, there are not wanting indications that the early inhabitants of the Black Land accepted the fact of a fall as the proper explanation of man's' sinful condition. At least the only representative of evil in the ancient religion of the subjects of Pharaoh was an enormous serpent, Apep, corresponding to the Apophis of the Greeks. That they believed in a great author of evil is undoubted ; while the antagonism, represented in their hieroglyphic pictures and mythical hymns, between the solar deities and this half dragon, half serpent, unmistakeably points to their belief in the universal conflict between good and evil, if it does not also contain a reminiscence of the Eden story which is preserved in the Hebrew Scriptures. (5) The similar traditions found in occidental countries, such as the well-known legends of Pandora's Box and the Garden of the Hesperides, current amongst the ancient Greeks, need not be dilated on, partly because of their later origin, but chiefly because of their less close resemblance to the biblical account. They agree with this no less than do the oriental traditions above recited, in representing the first men as having lived in innocence and bliss, and in having

suffered a fall; but they do not so minutely harmonize in their details with the scriptural narrative as do these earlier Aryan and Chaldean myths. It has, indeed, been thought by critics of the school of Bohlen that the Mosaic representation was immediately derived from the Persian, but, unless prepared to admit the post-exilic origin of Genesis, we entirely fail to see how any such position can be established. There is more probability in the conjecture that the Hebrew version was derived from the Chaldean, since Abraham and his descendants may reasonably be supposed to have been acquainted, more or less intimately, with the religious beliefs prevailing amongst the early settlers in the Tiro-Euphrates valley. This, however, does not prove either that the Mosaic story is entitled to no more credence than these primitive Accadian and Aryan traditions which it resembles, or that that which is the kernel of them all, viz. the notion of a fall, was not a reality but a fiction. Rather the concurrence in their most essential details of the legends existing amongst the primitive Aryans and Semites points to their having had a common origin at a time when these nations had not yet begun to separate. And, if it be asked whether a world-moving event such as a fall entailing disastrous consequences upon the entire family of man, or a poetic creation, however brilliant and captivating, of some primeval singer, would be the likelier to affect the after currents of traditional recollection, the answer will not be far to seek. On no sound principle of reason can it be maintained that these ancient stories receive an easier or more satisfactory explanation by being ascribed to the mythical spirit than by being traced back to a stupendous historical catastrophe such as that which they depict. Nay, if, as we believe, this latter is not only the preferable but the true hypothesis, it is only one step more to affirm that if such a declension as these primitive legends described occurred at all, the probabilities are that it

occurred as the First Book of Moses represents. That such a step is even more than permissible, that it is almost rendered inevitable, the incomparable superiority of the Hebrew story over these other legends with which it has been compared, in respect not only of religious elevation but also of literary sobriety, seems by no means unambiguously to declare. At the same time, as M. Lenormant has well observed, "it is not the form of the narrative that signifies here, but rather the dogma that it expresses, and this dogma of the fall of the human race, through the bad use that its earliest progenitors made of their free will, remains an eternal truth which is nowhere brought out with the same precision. It affords the only solution of the formidable problem which constantly returns to rear itself before the human mind, and which no religious philosophy outside of revelation has ever been able to solve."

3. Advancing to the final department in this inquiry, we have to ask what the verdicts are which modern science and philosophy have to deliver upon this momentous theme, and in particular whether they can show cause why the solution of the problem as to man's present condition, furnished alike by the Hebrew Scriptures and by Oriental tradition, should not be accepted as correct. Passing by objections to the doctrine of a fall which proceed upon the denial of sin's existence, and dealing only with such as recognise the reality of moral distinctions, it may be urged with some degree of confidence that no assault can successfully be made against this fundamental tenet of the Hebrew and Christian religions on the side of philosophy. If moral evil be a reality, then it must have had a commencement, and that commencement must be sought for in the Great Head of humanity, the *primus homo* from whom the race has descended. The hypothesis that sin may have broken in upon mankind at a stage later than the beginning, is not one that has ever been seriously formulated. The

solidarity of the race and the law of heredity in morals render it at least the more probable assumption that the spiritual decay under which the race now pines fell upon it in the person of its original progenitor. No system of philosophy that recognises sin to be a reality entertains a suspicion that the first sinner was not the first man. It may offer explanations as to how sin arose that are inconsistent with the biblical account, saying that sin is of necessity involved in the conception of a finite being, or in the historical transition of humanity from a state of nature to a state of culture; but it does not call in question that sin did arise, that man did not enter on the stage of time in a state of sin but in a state of innocence, and that he passed from the one to the other through his own personal volition. It may be uncertain whether the first man's fall affected all his posterity in such a fashion as to render a fall on their part unnecessary, because of being already fallen; it has no hesitation in asserting that the first man must have passed through a moral crisis such as the Scripture story depicts. When it rejects the idea of a hereditary transmission of moral depravity, it atones for its rejection of that too obvious phenomenon by insisting on as many falls as there are individuals in the race, for no true system of philosophy can shut its eyes to the fact that sin or moral evil is as universal as the race. Hence it may be argued that no valid argument can be offered by a reasonable philosophy against the Mosaic account of sin's entrance into the world by man's yielding to seductions and enticements pressed upon him from without; as to whether the fatal blandishments before which man fell were in any way connected with an evil spirit who might have used the serpent as an instrument for the accomplishment of his nefarious design, it does not seem that that lies within the legitimate province of a sober philosophy to determine. But if philosophy can present no insurmountable difficulty in connection with this



subject, may not science be able to erect in the way of faith what wears the aspect at least of being an impassable barrier? To not a few it looks as if it did. The notion of a fall such as Scripture represents having taken place in the early history of man, is declared to be expressly negatived by the science of to-day. It is inconsistent, it is said, with the ascertained fact that death, which the biblical narrative alleges to have owed its entrance into the world to the transaction which occurred in Eden, in reality existed long before man appeared upon the scene at all; and it is incompatible with the law of evolution as understood by the foremost scientists of the century, according to which man has never really suffered a lapse—because in truth he began so low that a lapse was impossible—but has constantly advanced from a less perfect to a more perfect condition, mentally, morally, socially, and religiously. Certainly, if these allegations are established beyond cavil, this part of the old faith, however reluctantly, must be abandoned. But is it so that either the existence of death in the pre-Adamic world, or the law of evolution in the present world, is inconsistent with the doctrine of a fall? With regard to the first, it is commonly assumed that the Bible declares the pre-Adamic world to have been free from death. Yet a careful exegesis shows that neither Moses nor Paul binds his readers down to any such position. The most that either can be fairly held as teaching is that in the world of humanity death was unknown until man had transgressed. Unless therefore science can prove that man must have died even if he had continued innocent, there is no ground for insisting that irreconcilable opposition exists between the teaching of Scripture and the voice of science on the subject of a fall. But manifestly whether a sinless being would also of necessity have been mortal is a question lying beyond the sphere of physical science. Physical science can say that man as presently known to it is mortal: of man in a state or condition of

existence of which it has no experience physical science can affirm nothing. Hence neither on the ground that death existed in the pre-Adamic world, which is an admitted fact, nor on the ground that death would have reigned over mankind even if the first man had not sinned, which is an unverifiable hypothesis, can physical science justly take exception to the biblical story of a fall. It is not, however, so clear that the law of evolution, if established, would permit us to adhere to the Scripture idea of a fall. A recent writer, Dr. Matheson, in a richly suggestive volume,<sup>1</sup> undertakes to show that it would. On the ground that the law of evolution as exhibited in nature does not demand a perpetual progress forwards and upwards, but admits of alternate advances and regressions, but chiefly on the ground that the fall of man was in reality an advance, being "the birth of his intellectual nature," which was ample compensation for the loss of his innocence, it appears to him that the old faith will not be destroyed by the assertion of the new. It is, however, extremely unlikely that this solution of the problem will satisfy either the biblical student or the scientific evolutionist. The former will find it difficult to admit that the intellect was not yet born in the being who, during the period of his innocence, was possessed of the Divine image, and could hold fellowship with his Maker, who could understand moral distinctions as well interpret the language of command, who could name the beasts of the field when they were brought to him in Paradise, and even recognise, as well as fitly designate his wife when she was first beheld; the latter will decline to concede that the moral nature of the first man was evolved before the intellectual, or that he was capable of exercising a "deliberate" moral choice when as yet he had not really entered on the stage of mental evolution. That a fall such as Scripture describes is wholly and finally incompatible with

<sup>1</sup> *Can the Old Faith live with the New?* chap. viii.

a law of evolution such as Haeckel and scientists of the extreme materialistic school advocate, must be fairly and frankly recognised; whether it may not harmonize with a modified evolutionism, such as Dr. Matheson ascribes to Mr. Spencer,—an evolutionism which is simply theism under a new name,—it seems premature to either affirm or deny.

THOMAS WHITELOW.

## THE REVISION OF THE ENGLISH OLD TESTAMENT.

## No. III.

IN entering on this work of revision, we had no hesitation in beginning with the Pentateuch. Not only was this the natural order, since it stands first in the volume; it is also, on the whole, the easiest portion, unless some of the historical books may compete for this distinction; and it was important to begin with the easiest parts, so as to try our powers, to come to know one another, and to ascertain on what principles we were to carry forward the work entrusted to us. No doubt there were rules laid down to guide us, and to these we were resolved to give an honest and intelligent obedience; but the question immediately arose, and was not settled for years, what is required by intelligent obedience, or, how are these rules to be understood and applied? Many a discussion arose in connection with the same word or form or phrase, how we were to deal with it, and the utmost liberty was given for full discussion, even when this involved iteration that was in some degree wearisome; so that in process of time we came to know each other's minds wonderfully well, often having our opinions modified, or even reversed, by the contact of so many souls and the friendly conflict of their opinions; often again unconvinced of anything more than this, that we could not bring the Company to be of our opinion. Moreover, the Pentateuch was especially suitable for this work, because its roots run through the entire Old Testament; so that discussions strictly upon it alone necessarily had an important or even a conclusive bearing upon very much that lies outside the Pentateuch: this cleared the ground so that

we might better make our way through tangled regions that lay beyond; or I might use another figure, and say that it laid a firm foundation on which we might safely proceed to build higher. The decisions we came to were reached very slowly, considering the quantity and the quality of the entire work which lay before us, but then, very much of what was accomplished was done once for all: though it is true that in numberless cases we did go over our old ground, and fight our old battles over again, when we came at a later time to the second revision, or when the entrance of new members filling vacant places gave us the advantage of new working power, or when old problems returning upon us in new circumstances, as we dealt with very different parts of Scripture, compelled us to reconsider our solutions of these problems, which in the nature of the case could scarcely ever claim to be absolutely certain or more than approximate. In these processes we have to acknowledge the help derived from the co-operation and independent judgment of our American fellow-labourers: how much we assisted one another, and how real the assistance was, because it never was a blind acceptance by the one Company of the results at which the other arrived, is manifest from the list of final points of difference printed at the end of the Old Testament.

The importance of the results arrived at in revising the Pentateuch is the more obvious, as one remembers that the rules laid down for our guidance were to be applied to the *revision* of the existing English Bible, and not to the production of a work entirely new. Perhaps no two men in the Company would attach precisely the same meaning to the rule, "to introduce as few alterations as possible into the text of the Authorised Version consistently with faithfulness"—that is to say, no two of us would have proceeded at the same rate, or would have moved exactly in the same direction, in applying the rule to practice. It was necessary that we

should come together, that we should explain our sentiments and the grounds of them, that we should weigh the statements of others whose judgment upon any point or principle was more matured or decided than our own, or whose natural disposition was more sanguine or more sluggish, more hopeful or more timid. It was necessary that the Company should in this way come to have a consciousness of corporate existence, an intelligence and a conscience, a common development of nervous and muscular power. And while every one retained his individual character and continued to act on his individual responsibility, and was assured of the sympathy and respect of his colleagues, however much he differed from them on any question that emerged (and sometimes this was manifest, I might say, in proportion to his maintenance of his individual position, as we freely gave blows and took them with the utmost good humour in our intellectual contests), it was not likely that one should succeed in any particular instance if he utterly failed in feeling the pulse of the Company. We might all do this occasionally, yet not often: because by meeting together, in so interesting and noble a work as ours was for fourteen years (and if any one were always present it might be for sixty working days in every year), we formed an attachment which made us feel more like the members of a family than anything else. I do not think there is any indelicacy in unveiling our proceedings to the view of all to the extent I now do. It was our duty to prepare for the meetings of the Company, so as to know our subject, and not to vent mere crudities, or to be unintelligent judges of matters laid before us by others: we might, and I suppose we habitually did, set down our views in writing, on the large sheets to which the pages of a folio copy of the Authorised Version were pasted for our convenience, and sent to us a considerable time before, and thus we could at once read off these notes if we wished, or we could readily follow

what others read in our hearing; and if we were unable to be present, we could (and many did) send in these notes, which were read and listened to with all possible attention. But probably all this was done at greatest length in the revision of the Pentateuch, because we had as yet no means of estimating how our colleagues would look upon any proposals in the light of the rule for revision; whereas experience and constant association brought us more and more to understand one another, even in those cases in which we could not come to any agreement. Our statements became shorter and more to the point, and we came to see pretty well the limits which were set to our work by the prevailing tone of feeling among our own number, whose judgment we could not but take as the judgment of a fair sample of scholars of average competency in our country. But though all possible justice was done to the written suggestions of any absent brother, and this in the frankest and kindest manner, it is certain that his absence was a loss to him in several ways, connected with his unavoidable want of that sympathetic tact in making his communications which depended on personal interest at the time. And thus, while it hardly needs to be said that no member was entitled to more deference than the late Dr. Field of Norwich, the admirable editor of the fragments of Origen's *Hexapla*, as there was none to whom we felt more indebted for valuable communications; yet his deafness was such that he never thought of attending a single meeting, and the usefulness of his suggestions was confined within a much narrower range than would have been had he been able to come into personal contact with us even occasionally.

The reader of the revised Pentateuch will perhaps be struck first of all with the smallness of the number of passages which have been thoroughly recast; but this is the unavoidable consequence of our already possessing the best popular translation in Europe. Changes running through a whole

verse may be seen in the enumeration of occasions which required one to bring a guilt-offering, Lev. vi. 2, 3. Perhaps I might adduce also ver. 21, the account of the priests' meat-offering, especially when I include our note, "The meaning of the Hebrew word is uncertain." And though the change is confined almost to one clause of Lev. xvii. 11, yet it stands in such connection with the rest that I might say the rendering is new as a whole, in the statement of the fundamental principle of sacrifice: "For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the life," with the marginal note on "life" which occurs at the beginning and end, that in Hebrew it is "soul," the word which occurs in the middle of the verse. So in Deut. xx. 19, "When thou shalt besiege a city a long time, in making war against it to take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof by wielding an axe against them: for thou mayest eat of them, and thou shalt not cut them down; for is the tree of the field man, that it should be besieged of thee?" I need not say that here the renderings in the text and in the margin of the Authorised Version are harsh and unsatisfactory. Again, in Deut. xxxii. 5: "They have dealt corruptly with him, *they are* not his children, *it is* their blemish;" with a variation in the latter clause, "*but* a blot upon them."

There are many shorter changes, however, which alter a single clause. Gen. iv. 15: "And the LORD appointed a sign for Cain, lest any finding him should kill him:" a more exact translation, and one that avoids all the idle questions as to the nature of the mark which He set upon Cain. Again, at iv. 23, in what has been called Lamech's song of the sword, in celebration of the weapons forged for him, we give in the text an easy rendering with a natural meaning, by



understanding the suffixes to indicate the object and not the subject: "I have slain a man for wounding me, and a young man for bruising me: if Cain shall be avenged seven fold, truly Lamech seventy and seven fold." In Num. xi. 25, the account of the seventy elders to whom the Spirit that was upon Moses was imparted, we now read: "And it came to pass, that, when the Spirit rested upon them, they prophesied, but they did so no more." This, the simple translation, gives additional emphasis to the wish expressed by Moses that all the Lord's people were prophets. In Ex. iv. 25, 26, we have surely delivered the English reader from the mistake of applying Zipporah's words to Moses instead of to their son, when we have altered "a bloody husband" into "a bridegroom of blood," because of the circumcision of the child. We have given at least a more vivid and accurate statement than the Authorized Version, of the results of Aaron's conduct in the matter of the golden calf, Ex. xxxii. 25: "And when Moses saw that the people were broken loose: for Aaron had let them loose for a derision (Hebrew, whispering) among their enemies" (compare our rendering, Ex. v. 4; and the repeated statements in Lev. x. 6, xiii. 45, xxi. 10, Num. v. 18, letting the hair "go loose"). And at v. 29, the statement made by Moses to the Levites who had executed judgment on the guilty people, while we have retained what was on the margin already, we have given a still simpler rendering in the text: "Consecrate yourselves to-day to the LORD, yea, every man against his son and against his brother." The description of the people, light-hearted and little impressed with their sin the day before, when they fell in with the representations of the unbelieving spies, is not very clear in Deut. i. 41, Authorized Version: "And when ye had girded on every man his weapons of war, ye were ready to go up," etc.; in the text we now read, "ye were forward to go up," but in the margin perhaps better, "ye deemed it a light thing to go up."

And to give but one more instance. In Deut. xxi. 4, the action of the elders of the city nearest to the place where the body of a murdered man was found, "they shall bring down the heifer unto a rough valley which is neither eared nor sown," is not very readily understood, and perhaps leads away from the true explanation. I must admit that it is not easy to get a good equivalent for the adjective, but "rough" may be dismissed. The notion conveyed seems to be either strength or continuance; so we have given it at Mic. vi. 2, "ye enduring foundations of the earth;" and at Ex. xiv. 27, while retaining "the sea returned to its strength," we have added in the margin, "to its wonted flow." We have accordingly translated here, "unto a valley with running water, which is neither ploughed nor sown;" and thus the elders would be provided with water suitable for the washing of their hands over the heifer when its neck had been broken (ver. 6).

There were perplexing individual words with which we had to deal. For instance *הִנָּחַת*, Num. xiv. 34, in the Authorised Version, "breach of promise," and on the margin, "alteration of my purpose;" now "alienation," or "revoking of my promise." This has nothing in common with the word "alienated" in Ezek. xxiii. 18; but it is the same as in Job xxxiii. 10, "he findeth occasions against me," in our margin, "causes of alienation." And at Num. xxxii. 7, 9, we have retained the Authorised Version which translates the cognate verb "discourage." Again there is *הַיָּסוּד*, Num. xxiii. 22 and xxiv. 8, where we have left "the strength of the unicorn," of course altering the translation of the animal, of which I now say nothing. This has at least the advantage of uniformity with Ps. xcv. 4 in the Authorised Version, "the strength of the hills is His also;" but this rendering we have relegated to the margin, setting "heights" in the text, coming nearer to the interpretation of those who understand the word to

mean "glance" or "brilliance," and in the psalm therefore "the glancing summits." The word *הִנָּחִיף* did not seem to us to be satisfactorily rendered "likewise," or "similitude." We have aimed at a uniform translation, "form," Num. xii. 8, Deut. iv. 15, 16, etc. Nevertheless we have given it only in the margin at Ps. xvii. 15; and in the second commandment we have said, "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor *the likeness of any form*," Ex. xx. 4. At v. 13 we have ventured on a change in another of the commandments, reverting to the more ancient and well-known "Thou shalt do no murder;" for "kill" is a very unsatisfactory rendering of *רָצַח*. We have elsewhere introduced this rendering "murder," which is already in the Authorised Version; but we have substituted "manslayer," Num. xxxv. 16 and onwards, and Deut. iv. 42 (where the Authorised Version has "slayer"), because a comprehensive word was needed to express the condition of one whose case had not been decided, whether he were guilty of murder or only of manslaughter. *הִנָּחִיף* is inadequately rendered in the Authorised Version, Deut. xxviii. 25, "shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth," with the marginal rendering, "for a removal." We have rendered it, "Thou shalt be tossed to and fro among all the kingdoms of the earth," while adding another interpretation, "a terror unto." It is a favourite word, again (with difference of *Qerf* and *Kthfbbh*), in Jeremiah, as xv. 4. The verb *הִנָּחִיף* and its cognate noun were not successfully translated in the Authorised Version,—Lev. v. 4, "pronounce," and Num. xxx. 6, 8, "uttered." The true idea we have expressed by inserting "rash" or "rashly." Yet we have not disturbed the Authorised Version at Ps. cvi. 33, "he spake unadvisedly," since this may be held to imply much the same as "rashly." Finally, we had to give consideration many a time to *בְּמַחְ*, with or without a preposition, used adverbially. There is no doubt as to its general meaning, since the cognate verb is

habitually translated "to trust." I think we did well to render it "securely," as sometimes in the Authorised Version, and as we generally did from the middle of Ezekiel to the end of the Old Testament, and sometimes on earlier occasions: because the word expresses not the objective fact of safety, but the subjective feeling of security, whether well founded or not; thus we even retain in the margin "boldly" at Gen. xxxiv. 25, in the description of Simeon and Levi coming upon the city of Shechem, though in the text we say "unawares." But many a time it is undoubted that the feeling corresponded to the facts of the case, as security with ourselves is often equivalent to safety. Hence we have repeatedly left "in safety," or "safely," as Lev. xxv. 18, 19; Deut. xxxiii. 12, 28; Isa. xiv. 30; Hos. ii. 18; Zech. xiv. 11; Ps. iv. 8, etc.

The mention of this word, with its varied renderings, suggests the thought of those about whose meaning there was no doubt, but for which it was desirable to fix on one representative in English. The most important of these, perhaps, was חֶסֶד, for which the Authorised Version 'gives "loving-kindness," "kindness," "goodness," "mercy;" but we failed to unite upon one. I suppose that "loving-kindness" was held to be the most satisfactory, and we have made large use of it in text and margin; but it is long, and some might say that it was clumsy or lumbering. And then there are many passages in the Psalms, where "mercy" is so wrought into the minds of men through long association with their most hallowed feelings, as in the refrain, "for His mercy endureth for ever." An instance of our perplexity, and our use of the margin to lessen it, occurs in Hos. vi. 4, 6, "O Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee? O Judah, what shall I do unto thee? for your goodness [or, kindness] is as a morning cloud, and as the dew that goeth early away. . . . For I desire mercy [or, kindness], and not sacrifice; and the

knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings." We had also to look at this word in the fourth commandment, and we retained "mercy," as again in the proclamation of His own name which the Lord made, Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7: a passage important in itself, and the more so to translators, because we had to endeavour, at the cost of much time and repeated consideration, to take into account the references to it in the prophets, especially Joel ii. 13, Jonah iv. 2. Once more, we had the verb נָחַם with its object, often in the Authorised Version "beseech," or "make our prayer before," sometimes adding on the margin "entreat the face of." A uniform rendering which we finally adopted was "intreat the favour of," Dan. ix. 13, Zech. vii. 2, viii. 21, 22, Mal. i. 9; though it might have been more satisfactory had we not left "besought" at Ex. xxxii. 11. Similarly we have shown a decided tendency to render סָרַף "reject," as many a time already in the Authorised Version. We have substituted this for "despise," Lev. xxvi. 15, 43, Num. xi. 20, xiv. 31, Ps. liii. 5, Ezek. xx. 13, 16, 24 (though we have left it often, Judg. ix. 38, Job v. 17, ix. 21, x. 3, xix. 18, xxxi. 13, xxxvi. 5, Ps. cvi. 24, Prov. iii. 11, xv. 32, Isa. xxx. 12, xxxiii. 8, 15, Jer. iv. 30, Amos v. 21, and the kindred verb "disdain," Job xxx. 1); also for "refuse," 1 Sam. xvi. 7, Ps. cxviii. 22, Ezek. v. 6 (though we have left it at Ps. lxxviii. 67, Isa. vii. 15, 16, viii. 6); also for "cast away," Lev. xxvi. 44 (though we have left it at Job viii. 20, Isa. xxxi. 7, xli. 9, Jer. xxxiii. 26, Hos. ix. 17, and the kindred expression "cast off" at 2 Kings xxiii. 27, Jer. xxxi. 37, xxxiii. 24); also for "abhor," Ps. lxxxix. 38 (though not at Job xlii. 6, Ps. xxxvi. 4, lxxviii. 59, yet in Job xlii. 6 with the alternative "loathe," as in Job vii. 16, where there is the alternative "waste away"); but we have retained "contemn" at Ezek. xxi. 10, 13, which we have altered to "despise" at Ps. xv. 4; we have altered "refuse" into "cast off," Isa. liv. 6; and we

have adopted the Authorised Version marginal "refuse" for "reprobate," at Jer. vi. 30.

I have given these particulars as a fair specimen of our difficulties with many Hebrew words, our labours, and our measure of success. In the same class I may place **נָתַן**, "submit themselves, or, yield feigned obedience," Deut. xxxiii. 29, instead of Authorised Version, "be found liars unto thee, or, be subdued." At Ps. xviii. 44, lxvi. 3, lxxxi. 15, we have added in the margin, "Heb. lie:" and there the Authorised Version has almost exactly the rendering we have adopted. For so common a word as **נָסַח**, recurring in most of the verses in Num. xxxiii., the Authorised Version has very needlessly the four renderings "departed," "removed," "journeyed," and "went," which might well raise a question in the minds of their readers, what was the difference in the movements of the camp of Israel, recorded at verses 20, 21, 22, 23; similar variations occur elsewhere. The collocation of words in English may render absolute uniformity impossible, but in this chapter we have adhered to "journeyed;" and this is our prevalent rendering (with "took their journey," Ex. xvi. 1, Num. x. 5, 6, Deut. i. 40, ii. 1), unless in the phrases "set forward according to their journeys," and "according to their hosts," Num. x. 12, 14, though "set forward" is found alone in vers. 28, 33-35, and "set forth" in Num. ii. 9, 16, etc., and "were departed" in Ex. xix. 2. We render the verb in its causative form, "And Moses led Israel onward," Ex. xv. 22.

A peculiar interest attaches to the word **שָׁאַל**, which the Authorised Version translates "borrow," in Ex. iii. 22, xi. 2, xii. 35, following ancient authority, and not without the favour of eminent scholars down to the present time. The meaning of the verb, however, is simply "to ask;" accordingly we have rendered it so, and helped to make unnecessary a great deal of discussion about this borrowing. I do not see

how the sense "borrow," supposing it to exist elsewhere, would be admissible in the history of this transaction, when Israelites and Egyptians alike knew that the parting was final. Accordingly, so anxious were the Egyptians to get the Israelites away, that they "made them to ask" things, chap. xii. 36, or as we express it in better English, "let them have what they asked," though perhaps it is even stronger, that they urged them to take what they pleased if they would only go at once. The translation "borrowed" may be fair enough at 2 Kings vi. 5; but if so, the notion is wrought into the verb from the surrounding circumstances: I am, however, not satisfied with "borrow" at Ex. xxii. 14, because the latter part of next verse shows that in this "asking" hiring was included as well as borrowing. The Authorized Version, having adopted "borrow" and "lend," applied it in the case of Samuel, 1 Sam. i. 28, ii. 20: we have amended the text, and transferred their view to the margin in the first passage, though in the second we have taken the opposite course, I think mistakenly. Hannah asked the child from the LORD, chap. i. 20, 27, and so she in turn "made him be asked for the LORD, as long as he lived, he should be asked for the LORD," which we express, "I also have granted him to the LORD, as long as he liveth he is granted to the Lord." Then in chap. ii. 20, the high priest blessed her with the promise of other children "for the petition which was asked for the Lord," as in our margin, since she had asked the child Samuel for Him and not for herself.

By running the eye down the margin, the reader may see many suggestions of meaning, in cases where it was not judged necessary or advisable to disturb the text. Gen. i. 2, "was brooding upon," for "moved upon" (compare "fluttereth," Deut. xxxii. 11); vers. 6, 20, "expanse" for "firmament;" chap. iv. 7, on Cain's countenance, which had fallen, "shall it

not be lifted up?" instead of "shalt thou not be accepted?" chap. xi. 3, on "slime," "that is, bitumen," as again chap. xiv. 10, Ex. ii. 3; Jacob's character as a "plain" man, "or, quiet, or, harmless, Heb. perfect," Gen. xxv. 27; chap. xxvii. 39, the possible double meaning of the blessing on Esau, "of the fatness of the earth . . . and of the dew of heaven," or otherwise, "away from" these; chap. xxxvii. 3, Joseph's "coat of many colours," or "long garment with sleeves" (as again Tamar's, 2 Sam. xiii. 18); chap. xlix. 5, "weapons of violence are their swords," or their "compacts;" chap. l. 5, "the grave which I have digged," or, "bought." So, again, in Exodus; chap. v. 19, "the officers of the children of Israel did see that they were in evil case," or "were set on mischief" (compare other cases of *נָּ*, chap. x. 10, xxxii. 12, 22); chap. viii. 23, after the three preliminary plagues, which fell on Egyptians and Israelites indiscriminately, "I will put a division between my people and thy people," or "set a *sign* of deliverance, Heb. set redemption;" chap. x. 2, "what things I have wrought upon Egypt," or, "how I have mocked the Egyptians;" or in the difficult passage, the curse on Amalek, chap. xvii. 16; the addition of "bondman" to servant in chap. xxi., etc.; the explanation of the Urim and the Thummim, chap. xxviii. 30 (and Lev. viii. 8), "that is, the Lights and the Perfections;" chap. xxix. 37, "whatsoever toucheth the altar," or, "whosoever," and so xxx. 29 (compare Lev. xxii. 4); chap. xxxiv. 29, the inadequate verb "shone," of the face of Moses, has the explanation, "sent forth beams, Heb. horns" (compare Hab. iii. 4, "he had rays *coming forth* from his hand," and in the margin, "Heb. horns"); chap. xxxv. 35 and xxxviii. 23, "engraver," or "craftsman." And in Leviticus, at chap. xiii. 48, etc., "warp or woof," the alternative, "woven or knitted stuff;" chap. xviii. 21, "to make them pass through *the fire* to Molech," or, "to set them apart to Molech;" chap. xxi. 4, "*being* a chief man," or "*as*



a husband ;" and chap. xxv. 34, on the possessions of the Levites around the towns, called "suburbs," or "pasture lands," and so at Num. xxxv. 2, though at Ezek. xlv. 2 the margin has "open space."

GEORGE C. M. DOUGLAS.

## THE BLESSINGS OF INITIATION.

WE have now to bring into the clear emphasis which belongs to them the testimonies of Greek poets, orators, and philosophers, to the purifying and saving influences believed to be exerted by the mysteries, which, as we have already pointed out, are to be thought of, not as doctrines, in part hidden, in part revealed, but as sacramental services.

Perhaps the oldest testimony is that in the Hymn to Demeter,<sup>1</sup> where the Orgies of Eleusis are alluded to as "august, by no means to be neglected, nor to be searched out, nor to be published abroad; for a great awe of the gods restrains the utterance. Happy he who of earthly men hath looked upon them; but he that hath not been initiated in the rites, and hath no part in them never enjoys a like lot, on his decease, under the horrid gloom."

Pindar's views on this subject are worthy the fullest attention. He was one of the purest spirits of antiquity. No Christian father could have revolted more than he from those coarse myths which connected unholy associations with the idea of the gods. There runs through his odes a fine vein of reflection and of ethical counsel; and it seems sufficiently clear that Pindar was one of those who attached far greater importance to the moral preparation, in purity of heart and rectitude of life, for eternity, than to that furnished by the sacramental initiation. In the second Olympian ode, he speaks of the faith that good will be rewarded, and that evil will be punished, here and hereafter, as "a shining star and a light that leads not astray." He who possesses this light knows well that vice in any case meets with its punishment and virtue with its reward, in part here, in part under the grim

<sup>1</sup> Vers. 478 ff.

judgment of necessity in the other world. He goes on to describe the future blessedness of the good; the sun which shines upon them by night as well as by day; their painless existence untroubled by a tear. This is the portion of those who have been true to their oath, while others will be involved in pain not to be looked upon. Those who have thrice dared in their life here below to keep their souls free from deceit, pass by the celestial road to the towers of Kronos, to the blessed shore where the ocean breezes blow, and where flame the golden blossoms, some on land from stately boughs, others fed by the water. From them chaplets are woven to wreath the brows.<sup>1</sup>

The other references to the future life are to be found in fragments of his dirges (*θρήνοι*), preserved in part by Plutarch, in part by the Fathers. In his "Consolation to Apollonia," Plutarch cites two fragments, the first of which may be illustrated by some references in another of his tracts to the description of the future state. The Place of the Pious is shone upon by the might of the sun, while it is night upon earth, in pastures red with roses. There is a broad plain abounding in blossoming shady trees, and watered by gentle unruffled streams. They pass the time in reminiscences and discourses of things past and things present. They delight themselves with horses, with athletic games, others with lyre or harp; happiness of all kinds flourishes among them. The air is pervaded by sweet odours; for evermore incense mingles with far-shining flames on the altars of the gods. . . . A way thrusts souls into "Erebos and the pit; there endless darkness is belched forth by gliding rivers of pitch-dark night."<sup>2</sup>

In another dirge Pindar sings:—

"And by a happy lot all have gained the end, which brings release from woes."

<sup>1</sup> Ol. 2. 55 (101), Bergk. The construction is difficult; cf. Hartung's note in his edition, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Frag. 106, Plut. *Consol. ad Apoll.* c. 35; *de occulte viv.* c. 7.

"The body of all men follows mighty Death, but alive is still left the shadow of existence (*αἰῶνος εἰδωλον*); for it alone is from the gods; it sleeps while the limbs are active, but when they sleep, in many dreams it shows approaching judgment of joyous things and harsh."<sup>1</sup>

In another, cited by Clement and by Theodoret:—

"The souls of the impious flit about under heaven in the earth, in deadly pains, under inevitable bonds of ills; but the souls of the pious dwell in heaven and sing praise to the great and blessed God in hymns."<sup>2</sup>

In another, alluded to in the Meno of Plato, he sings:—

"They for whom Persephone will renew the penalty of old suffering—their souls she gives back again in the ninth year to the sun above. From them spring mighty princes, strong heroes, and greatest men in wisdom; in after time they are called holy heroes in the mouth of men."<sup>3</sup>

The comment of Socrates is as follows:—"Pindar and many other inspired (*θεῖοι*) poets agree that the soul of man is immortal; now it comes to an end, which they call dying, and then it comes again into being, but never perishes. For this reason we ought to pass our life in the greatest possible piety," etc.<sup>4</sup> Socrates says that he has heard this glorious truth from "certain men and women, priests and priestesses," who had studied how they might be able to give a reason of their profession, as well as from the poets. The allusion of Socrates seems to indicate the truth which was darkly discerned in the Mysteries; but so far as Pindar is concerned, there is nothing to show from what source he derived the pictures of the future state in his second Olympian and the fragments already cited. There is not the least ground for

<sup>1</sup> Fr. 108, Plut. *ubi sup.* and *vit. Rom.* c. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. 109; Clem. Al., *Str.* iv. 640; Theodoret, *Gr. Aff. Cur.* viii. 117, 2. Dissen and Rauchenstein deny these verses to Pindar on internal grounds. Zeller ascribes them to a Jew, *Hist. Phil.* ii. 17. Welcker, *Götterlehre*, i. 742, defends them.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. 110.

<sup>4</sup> Meno 81A.

supposing them to have been the inventions of the poet himself; he is here, as throughout his work, giving the stamp of poetic art to the ordinary material of popular tradition.

The one passage which is expressly said by Clement of Alexandria<sup>1</sup> to refer to the Mysteries at Eleusis, is as follows:—

“Happy he who has seen them before he goes under the hollow earth: he knows the end of life, he knows the beginning given of Zeus (διόσδοταν ἀρχάν).” It is thought that the fragment bears reference to the death of Hippokrates, an Athenian, for whom Pindar wrote a dirge.<sup>2</sup> The allusion in the last words appears to be to metempsychosis.<sup>3</sup> It will be observed that here, as in the Hymn, the knowledge or the faith is said to come through the eye, not the ear, through the beholding of a representation or suggestion of things unseen, not the listening to discourse thereon. From Pindar alone, however, it could not be inferred that the only way to blessedness lay through the initiations of Eleusis or elsewhere. Nor is that the impression which is made by the consideration of the testimonies as a whole.

We come to Sophocles, that greatest master of Attic art, that exemplar of heathen piety. His verses<sup>4</sup> certainly express a belief in the exclusively saving power of those rites:

“O thrice happy  
Those mortals, who have beheld these rites  
Before they went to Hades; for to these alone yonder  
To live is given, for the rest all things there are ill.”

In the *Oedipus Coloneus* he alludes to the “august rites” (σεμνὰ τέλη) of Eleusis.<sup>5</sup> Still more important for our purpose is Euripides, because that great poet, whose critical attitude towards the popular religion is well known, was not the man to abet any idle delusions or superstitions upon this

<sup>1</sup> *Strom.* iii. 518, Fr. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Lobeck, p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. 719.

<sup>3</sup> *Schol. Pyth.* vii. 17.

<sup>5</sup> V. 1050.

subject. And where his personal opinions do not appear, his allusions to popular belief offer good evidence of what that belief actually was. Now in the *Hercules Furens*, Herakles is questioned by Amphytrion, "Didst thou indeed enter the halls of Hades, my child?" "Yea," replies the hero, "and brought the three-headed monster to the light." And when he is asked whether he prevailed by battle or by gifts, he replies, "By battle; and I had the good fortune to behold the orgies of the Mysts."<sup>1</sup> Now the current legend was that Herakles had been initiated at Eleusis before his descent into Hades.<sup>2</sup> "Of course," remarks Prof. F. A. Paley, "his admission to these mystic rites on earth would entitle him to share the prerogatives of the *μυσταί* in Hades." In the *Bacchæ* the poet puts into the mouth of the Chorus the sentiment, in reference to the Bacchic worship: "O blessed he whose happiness it is to look upon the rites of the gods, who hallows his life and disciplines his soul—in sacred revels on the mountains—by holy purification; keeping the orgies of the great mother Kybelé, and brandishing the thyrsos, his head crowned with ivy, he worships Dionysos."<sup>3</sup>

Another passage in the same play is instructive, both as illustrating the point already often insisted on, that the initiation was not an indoctrination, but a beholding of sacramental objects; also that the initiation secured benefits in the other world.

Pentheus, the opponent of the worship, has the god himself, disguised as a stranger, the leader of the band of Bacchantes, brought before him, and questions him as to the origin of these new rites. Was it by a dream of the night, or by an actual appearance, face to face, that the god forced him into service? "I looked upon him face to face, and he gave me the orgies," is the reply. Orgies are here the sacramental objects; and the next question is, Of what form are they?

Vv. 610 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Apollod.* 2, 5. 12; Schol. II. 8. 378; Plut. *Thea.* p. 16 A; Izetz. ad Lyc. 1328; Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 1014, *Aziach.* 371 D.

<sup>3</sup> Vv. 73 ff. The passage is cited by Strabo, 10, 469.

And the reply of the god is that it is forbidden to uninitiated mortals to know them. And what profit do they bring to the worshippers? "It is not lawful for thee to hear, but they are worthy to be known."<sup>1</sup>

In the prologue to the *Hippolytus*, incidentally the picture is introduced of the young hero going from the house of Pittheus "to behold the august rites and the function of the Mysteries; it was then that Phædra was smitten with the fatal passion for him."<sup>2</sup> The reference is to the Eleusinian mysteries.

At present we are not dwelling on the corruptions of heathen religions. We remind ourselves of the old and true saying, *Optimi corruptio pessima est*, and we are bringing to light those genuine and excellent elements of religion, the existence of which is implied in the corruption. Nothing could exceed the mingled joy and reverence with which the people approached that sacred spot, engaged in solemn washings, listened to proclamations which warned off from the communion all whose hands were stained with blood, and whose hearts were impure; invoked the great deities in hymns of praise, as *Soteres*, saviours from ill, and givers of every temporal and spiritual good; and thought to honour them by indulging now in gaiety and now in gravity, in transitions from severe contemplation to lively humour. If we approach religious antiquity in no *ex parte* spirit, in no flesh-fly disposition to settle upon putrid spots, there rises before us the picture of a popular religion which answered the many-sided needs of imagination and conscience, which knew how to do justice to those deep-seated fears, and not less to that hopeful gladness with which men look forward to the eternal world. Religion protests against pessimism; and how simply and nobly does it protest, through Euripides, in words he puts into the mouth of the Attic hero Theseus, against the decaying faith—another word for pessimism—of his time. "Some say

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 469 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 24 ff.

that the sum of the worse is greater than that of the better for mortals. I hold the contrary opinion—mortals have more of good than ill. Were this not so, we should not be in the light of the living.”<sup>1</sup> He goes on to praise the god who has redeemed life from filth and bestiality, has given men understanding, and the “angel-tongue of discourse;” the growth of corn and the nourishing drops from heaven; the means of navigation and so of helpful intercourse with others; the arts of divination, by which they might pierce the obscurities of the future.

It was undoubtedly a profound religious attraction which above all drew thousands annually to the bright bay of Eleusis; the sense of the blessings of agriculture, of the fixed home in contrast with the ruder life of the nomad, nor less of those “good hopes” which cheered the prospect of life’s close, and of the eternity to follow.<sup>2</sup> Schiller, with a poet’s divination, has touched chords to which every modern heart answers, in his verses on the Feast:—

“Windet zum Kranze die goldenen Aehren  
Flechtet auch blaue Cyanen hinein,  
Freude soll jedes Auge verklären,  
Denn die Königin ziehet ein,  
Die uns die süsse Heimat gegeben  
Die den Menschen zum Menschen gesellt.”<sup>3</sup>

The scenes in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes offer some of the best illustrations of the point under consideration,—the connection between initiation and future blessedness. In the sewage of the infernal river lie those who have wronged the stranger, the ward, or the parent, or who have been guilty of perjury, or—the poet humorously adds—who have copied out a speech from Morsimos, a bad poet.<sup>4</sup> And then, Herakles tells Dionysos, who is making the descent into Hades, he will hear the music of flutes, he will behold a light

<sup>1</sup> Suppl. 196 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Isocr. *Panegyrr.* c. 6, § 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Eleusische Fest.*

<sup>4</sup> Vv. 144 ff. The notion of “lying in mud,” as the mode of future punishment, in Plato, *Phaed.* 69 C, *Rep.* ii. 363 D; with an allegorical turn in Plotinus, *Ennead.* i. 6, p. 55.



most beautiful, even as that of the upper world, and myrtle groves, and happy bands of men and women, and much clapping of hands. "And who are they?" asks Dionysos. "The Initiated," is the reply.

In the same play the twice-renewed proclamation of the Hierophant against the impure is mimicked by the poet, so that under a catalogue of offences he may contrive to launch his satire against the times.<sup>1</sup>

In another passage the priest or the leader of the Chorus speaks: "Lead now the sacred dance in the enclosure of the goddess, sporting through the flowery grove, ye who partake in the sacred feast. . . . Let us go to the flowery pastures abounding in roses, sporting after our manner, in fairest choirs, under the assisting conduct of the blessed Muses. We alone enjoy the sun of cheering light, who have been initiated and have behaved ourselves with piety towards strangers and citizens."<sup>2</sup> "Here," remarks Prof. Paley, "we have a close approximation to our ideas of heaven as a reward for virtue in this life, and of *light* being vouchsafed to the better spirits in another world." It will be observed that the passage clearly unites the two conditions of future blessedness,—membership of the fellowship of Eleusis and piety of life. Elsewhere, now the one and now the other may be expressly mentioned. Thus in the *Alkestis* of Euripides, the chorus tells Admêtos that his wife's tomb shall be as no mere grave-mound of the departed, but shall be divinely honoured, an object of reverence to the passers-by. And they shall say: "She died for her husband in days gone by, and now she is a blessed spirit. Hail, Lady! grant us thy blessing."<sup>3</sup>

From the couplet in the *Frogs*, 886-7, it has been inferred by Fritzsche that Æschylus was among the initiate of Eleusis. Bidden by Dionysos, along with the rival poet Euripides, to put up a prayer, he invokes Demeter: "Thou who didst nourish my mind, grant me to be worthy of thy

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 355 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 440 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Alc.* 995 ff.

mysteries." The scholiast says he belonged to the *dême* of Eleusis. There is, however, no distinct reference, as far as we know, to the mysteries in the works of Æschylus. But the punishment of the wicked in Hades is emphatically recognised.<sup>1</sup>

In order to obtain a complete view of the subject, it is necessary to turn from lofty religious poets in whom no trace of grovelling superstition is to be found, to the evidence of general popular belief, from which it appears that the mass of the people were as remote from those great spiritual leaders and their teaching, as they are now from the teaching of St. Paul. We should read what Theophrastus and what Plutarch have to say concerning superstition. We are not denying the necessity of sacraments in religion; on the contrary, we hold them to be essential to the completeness of the religious life. But we must believe that an exclusive reliance on sacraments is of its nature groundless, that is, superstitious. And the decay of Greek religions must, in great part, be ascribed to this very cause. Theophrastus characterizes cowardice (*δειλία*) as a certain fearful yielding of the soul; and his first example of it is the passenger at sea who takes peaks for pirate vessels, and if a storm arises, inquires, as one might say, whether there is not "a Jonah on board;" whether some one of the passengers *has not been initiated*. He wants to know from the pilot whether he is holding the middle course, and what are his religious opinions. He tells his neighbour that he has been alarmed by a dream, and so on.<sup>2</sup> Such cases may readily be paralleled in the present day, among even educated but constitutionally timid minds, who lean with all their weight upon the objective validity of the sacramental act. But how strong was the protest of sound sense against extreme sacramentarianism, may be conjectured from one of the shrewd remarks of the Cynic of Sinope, reported by his namesake,

<sup>1</sup> *Eum.* 267 ff. : *θανόντας ἐν κελιδί, πινούμεν φλογίς.*

<sup>2</sup> *Char.* xxix. (xxv.).

Diogenes Laertius. The Athenians besought him to be initiated, telling him that the initiated secure the seats of pre-eminence in Hades. " 'Twill be ridiculous," he replied, "if Agesilaos and Epaminondas shall dwell in the filth, while some who have been initiated at small cost shall be in the islands of the blessed." <sup>1</sup>

The terms *blessed*, *blessedness*, carried with them a strong allusion to the mysteries for a Greek ear; and the expression "beatific vision" exactly describes that exalted experience, which we see lighting up as it were the face of Plato with unearthly radiance, when he discourses concerning spiritual beauty; and holiness seen by the soul in a previous state of existence. "Few there are who retain the remembrance of them sufficiently; and they, when they behold any image of that other world are rapt in amazement; but they are ignorant of what this means, because they have no clear perceptions. . . . The higher qualities which are precious to souls are seen but through a glass dimly; and there are few who, going to the images, behold in them the realities. They might have seen beauty shining in brightness, when with the happy band following in the train of Zeus, as we philosophers did, or with other gods, as others did, they saw a vision and were initiated into most blessed mysteries, which we celebrated in our state of innocence, and having no feeling of evils as yet to come; beholding apparitions innocent and simple, and calm and happy, as in a mystery; shining in pure light, pure ourselves, and yet enshrined in that living tomb which we carry about, now that we are imprisoned in the body as in an oyster-shell. Let me linger thus long over the memory of scenes which have passed away." <sup>2</sup>

This fascinating dialogue, full of a sublime and enigmatic

<sup>1</sup> Diog. L. vi. 2, § 39.

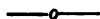
<sup>2</sup> Phædrus (Jowett), 250 B. Cf. Dr. W. H. Thompson's note (*Bibl. Classica*), *in loc.*

eloquence, throws a strong light upon our subject. In some passages Plato is reproducing the scenery and probably repeating things heard at the Mysteries. So he speaks of the desire of souls to behold the "plain" or "meadow" of truth. And the fine saying, finely appropriated by one of our modern seers, Emerson, occurs: "There is a law of the goddess Retribution, that the soul which attains any vision of truth in company with the god, is preserved from harm until the next period" (p. 248).

Our next object must be to ascertain, as clearly as the nature of the subject admits, whence that holy power of suggestion came, whence those visions of a pure state of previous existence, which so filled the soul of the poet-philosopher.

E. JOHNSON.

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND FAC-SIMILES OF THE  
JERUSALEM MANUSCRIPT.

BY

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